

Women's Status in Higher Education

Where Are Woman Presidents in Chinese Universities?

Fei Xue



Institute for Educational Research

Faculty of Education

University of Oslo

October 2008

Abstract

Historically, higher education has been men's domain and was characterized by strong masculine value. Few women were seen successfully entered and survived in higher education institutions (HEIs), not to mention those who got the opportunity of promoting to senior administrative positions like university president. Women used to be underrepresented in all levels of higher education.

To our pleasant, this situation was ameliorated with the large enrollment expansion and the wakening of women's self-conscious as independent human beings. Today, the equilibrium is being restored in higher education. And the participatory rates of females are increasing rapidly, especially in the student body. Although the percentage is still low, more women get employment inside higher education, and some of them became full-time professors and acquired senior professional title successfully. However, survey result in 2006 shows that only 4.5% of university presidents in China are women. It raises our curiosity on women's status in higher education, especially those in presidential leadership. Where are woman presidents in Chinese universities?

This paper can be seen as an effort we are taking to the examination of the status of academic women in higher education. It starts with the recounting of females labors serving in HEIs, and proceeds to the discussion of adverse factors preventing women's promotion into senior administrative positions. Women's competency in presidential leadership will be analyzed to see if the underrepresentation of females in leadership positions is justifiable. Affirmative actions being implemented and favorable policies enacted are inspected and possible solutions are recommended at the end of this paper.

Key words: higher educational institutions; women's status; university president; culture; barriers and obstacles; competency; affirmative actions

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	3
LIST OF TABLES.....	7
LIST OF FIGURES.....	8
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	9
CHINESE VOCABULARY GLOSSARY	11
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	12
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	13
1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE TOPIC.....	13
1.2. THESIS MISSION.....	15
1.3. METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS	17
1.4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND KEY CONCEPTS	18
1.5. ORGANIZATIONS OF THIS PAPER.....	21
CHAPTER 2 STATUS OF FEMALE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS IN CHINA	23
2.1. HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE WHOLE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN CHINA.....	23
2.1.1. <i>General description</i>	23
2.1.2. <i>Characteristics of higher education in China</i>	24
2.1.3. <i>President searching and selection in Chinese universities</i>	27
2.2. THE EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE LABOR MARKET	28
2.3. STATUS OF WOMEN IN CHINESE HIGHER EDUCATION	30
2.3.1. <i>Status of female doctoral students and faculty in higher education.....</i>	30
2.3.2. <i>Profiles of university presidents in China – Findings from the “Research on the qualities of Chinese university presidents”</i>	34

2.4.	SUMMARY	41
CHAPTER 3 STATUS OF FEMALE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND NORWAY..42		
3.1.	ACADEMIC WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES	43
3.1.1.	<i>Background information on American universities</i>	43
3.1.2.	<i>University presidents in America.....</i>	44
3.1.3.	<i>Female staff and doctoral students.....</i>	45
3.2.	WOMEN UNIVERSITY RECTORS IN NORWAY	47
3.2.1.	<i>Background information on Norwegian universities.....</i>	47
3.2.2.	<i>Female university rectors in Norway</i>	48
3.2.3.	<i>Female staff and doctoral students.....</i>	49
3.3.	COMPARISONS AMONG WOMAN PRESIDENTS/RECTORS IN HEIs IN CHINA, NORWAY AND THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING THEIR EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND	53
3.4.	CULTURE INFLUENCE ON WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP	56
3.4.1.	<i>Influence of Power structure.....</i>	56
3.4.2.	<i>Influence of collectivism/individualism.....</i>	57
3.4.3.	<i>Influence of masculine/feminine value in analyzing the selecting procedures for university presidents/rectors.....</i>	58
3.4.4.	<i>Influence of uncertainty avoidance</i>	60
3.5.	SUMMARY	60
CHAPTER 4 WHERE ARE WOMEN PRESIDENTS IN UNIVERSITIES? – AN ANALYSIS OF BARRIERS AND OBSTACLES THAT PREVENT WOMEN’S PROGRESSION IN HIGHER EDUCATION62		
4.1.	PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF FACTORS THAT PREVENT WOMEN FROM ADVANCEMENT IN ACADEMY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CAREER PROGRESSION MODEL.....	64
FIGURE 4.1: CAREER PROGRESSION MODEL FOR ACADEMIC WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION66		
4.2.	ANALYSIS OF BARRIERS AND OBSTACLES FOR CHINESE WOMEN’S PROGRESSION IN HIGHER EDUCATION ..	67

4.2.1.	<i>Four perspectives adopted</i>	67
4.2.2.	<i>Analyzing women's barriers and obstacles from a historical perspective</i>	68
4.2.3.	<i>Analyzing women's barriers and obstacles from a cultural perspective.....</i>	71
4.2.4.	<i>Analyzing women's barriers and obstacles from a political perspective</i>	79
4.2.5.	<i>Analyzing women's barriers and obstacles from a socio-economical perspective.....</i>	82
4.3.	SUMMARY	83
CHAPTER 5 WOMEN BEING THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS – AN ANALYSIS OF THEIR COMPETENCY IN PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP		86
5.1.	THE NEW ENVIRONMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN CHINA – CHANGES AND CHALLENGES	87
5.1.1.	<i>HEIs in today's society with market economy orientation.....</i>	88
5.1.2.	<i>Higher education in the era of globalization</i>	92
5.2.	CAREER AND FAMILY – ARE THEY COMPATIBLE FOR WOMAN UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS?	97
5.3.	WOMEN'S STYLE VS MEN'S STYLE	98
5.3.1.	<i>Women's style in verbal communication.....</i>	99
5.3.2.	<i>Non-verbal communication styles of the females.....</i>	101
5.3.3.	<i>Women's style in leadership skills.....</i>	102
5.4.	THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S COMPETENCY AS UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS IN TERMS OF RESPONSIBILITIES	105
5.5.	SUMMARY	106
CHAPTER 6 RELEVANT ISSUES ON PROMOTING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN LEADERS IN CHINESE HIGHER EDUCATION.....		108
6.1.	THE AMELIORATING ENVIRONMENT FOR ACADEMIC WOMEN – AFFIRMATIVE ACTIONS TO WOMEN'S EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES	108
6.1.1.	<i>National policies and other effective measures favoring women's progression in HEIs</i>	109
6.1.2.	<i>The role of UNESCO in promoting equal opportunities for women in higher education</i>	112
6.1.3.	<i>International Forum of Female University Presidents</i>	113

6.2.	DEFICIENCIES IN PROMOTING WOMEN’S EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES	114
6.3.	POSSIBLE MEASURES TO PROMOTE WOMEN’S PROGRESSION IN HEIs	115
6.3.1.	<i>Equal opportunity legislation.....</i>	<i>116</i>
6.3.2.	<i>Preferential treatment.....</i>	<i>116</i>
6.3.3.	<i>Effective evaluation system to the qualification of university presidents.....</i>	<i>118</i>
6.3.4.	<i>Building up supportive networks and effective mentorship in HEIs.....</i>	<i>119</i>
6.4.	SUMMARY	120
CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS.....		122
APPENDIX.....		128
REFERENCES		129

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Number of students been conferred master and doctor's degrees in selected years from 1991 to 2002, and gender constitution

Table 2.2: The Horizontal comparison among university presidents from different kind of higher educational institutions in China

Table 3.1: Faculty at Title IV degree-granting institutions, by gender and full-time/part-time: United States, fall 2003

Table 3.2: Executive/Administrative/Managerial staff at Title IV degree-granting institutions, by gender and full-time/part-time: United States, fall 2003

Table 3.3: University teachers in Norway, by gender and full-time/part-time in the year 2003

Table 3.4: Training in terms of specific disciplines of American college presidents, American college presidents, European university rectors, vice-chancellors, presidents and principals, and Chinese university presidents, expressed in percentage

Table A-1: Country score and rank in Hofstede's culture dimensions: China, Norway and the US

List of Figures

Figure 2.1: The composition of women staff & workers in higher education in 1994 and 2004.

Figure 2.2: Percentage of male and female teachers in regular HEIs in terms of their educational attainment

Figure 2.3: Percentage of male and female staffs & workers in regular HEIs in China in terms of their professional titles, 2002

Figure 2.4: Gender constitution of Chinese university presidents by percentage

Figure 2.5: Training in Terms of Specific Disciplines of Chinese University Presidents

Figure 2.6: Educational attainment of Chinese university presidents (in percentage)

Figure 2.7: Gender constitutions of presidents in different types of universities

Figure 3.1: Doctoral Degrees Conferred to Female Students in Percentage, Selected Disciplines: United States, Academic Year 2003-04 (adapted)

Figure 3.2: The organizational map of NTNU

Figure 3.3: Graduates in Norway's universities in 2005-06 study year by gender and disciplines

Figure 3.4: Graduates of doctor's degrees in Norway's universities in 2005-06 study year by gender and disciplines.

Figure 3.5: Contrasts on academic background among University Presidents/Rectors in US, Europe and China

Figure 4.1: Career Progression Model for academic women in higher education

List of Abbreviations

ACE	American Council on Education
BJU	Beijing Jiaotong University
CERNET	China Education and Research Network
CPC	Communist Party of China
EOAA	Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action
GER	Gross Enrollment Ratios
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
ICT	Internet and Computer Technology
IDV	Individualism
IFFUP	International Forum of Female University Presidents
LTO	Long-Term Orientation
MAS	Masculinity
MoE	Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China
NBSC	National Bureau of Statistics of China
NCES	National Center for Education Statistics (US)
NPC	National People's Congress
NWCCW	National Working Committee on Children and Women
PDI	Power Distance Index
RUC	Renmin University of China
SDAS	Speech Dialect Attitudinal Scale
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SRHE	Society for Research into Higher Education
STE	Science, Technology and Engineering
UAI	Uncertainty Avoidance Index
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics

UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
WCHE	World Conference on Higher Education

Chinese Vocabulary Glossary

Administrative rank	行政级别
Advanced Party School	中国共产党高等学校
Department or bureau director rank	司局级
Deputy director rank	副局级
Division director rank	正处级
Grass-roots-level Committee	基层委员会
Iron rice bowl	铁饭碗
Jiang Zemin	江泽民
Officer standard	官本位
Party Committee	党委
President Responsibility System	校长负责制
Professional title	职称
Three abediences	三从
Vice-minister rank	副部级

Acknowledgement

The arduous process of thesis composing finally came to the end. And I owe my sincere thanks to all the people who have helped and inspired me during this journey.

My deepest gratitude goes first and foremost to my supervisor, Professor Arild Tjeldvoll, for his professional guidance and constant encouragement. Without his tireless supervision and illuminating instruction, this work wouldn't have been finished.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Lihong Huang, senior researcher in NOVA and guest lecturer in the faculty of education. Thank you for your excellent lectures on quantitative statistics. My gratitude also goes to the program coordinator, Mette Katrine Oftebro, for the prompt responses to all my questions.

Many thanks go to my fellow students in the faculty of education, university of Oslo, and my friends in Norway and China.

My special thanks go to my best friend Aihua, who supported and encouraged me all the way during my study in Oslo, and to Yufei. Thank you for being with me and taking care of me in my hardest time of thesis writing.

Finally, the first piece of my professional work is dedicated to my beloved parents, Luo Zili and Wu Ping. Without their love and support, I will never have the opportunity to pursue my study in Norway. Thank you, and love you.

Xue Fei

Oslo, Norway

October, 2008

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1. Background of the topic

Women had been under the repressed conditions for thousands of years in the Chinese history until the beginning of the 20th century, when women's liberation movement was brought forward and women's self-consciousness was enlightened by the early revolutionists - the national bourgeoisies. Ever since then, the realization of gender equity has been one of the primary goals in the Chinese society. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, women's status has been consolidated and further protected by various laws issued by the governments, both at the central and at the local level.

During the period of "Culture Revolution", the realization of gender equity was performed with the misunderstanding of this concept. A number of females entering the labor market turned to be "masculine" women and the character of masculinity made them feel no inferior to men. However, this situation has been changed greatly with social, political, and economical development. Today, women's self-identity of being females is revitalizing.

According to a government report, women's social status has been improved a lot during the last ten years of the 20th century. The improvement is manifested in various ways including economy, political participation, education, marriage and family life, health, lifestyle, law, and societal perceptions toward gender (NBSC, 2001). However, if we focus our attention on women's participation in the labor market, it is not difficult to figure out that job segregation persists, and female labors are clustering in those traditional areas with lower salaries such as agriculture, manufacturing, retails and catering services (NBSC, 2005). Besides, women often take positions in the lower ranks of the job hierarchy rather than in the higher ranks (McLean, 1996). The Chinese practice also reveals that women usually hold lower academic titles in universities (Yang, 2005).

Nevertheless, this situation is ameliorating as more public attention is being given to women in leadership positions. Scholars and policy makers have realized the importance of increasing the participatory rate of females in decision-making processes, and many of them began to contribute their knowledge in researching into this topic. Favorable policies are issued to encourage women's participation in the political life and the number of female

cadres has increased a lot (NBSC, 2004a). As a matter of fact, women have gained much progress in increasing their number in all ranks of administrative positions in politics, and both in public and private sectors across the country. Unfortunately, literatures documenting the increase of female leaders are rarely seen in areas such as higher education administration. Papers documenting gender inequality in higher education are mostly concerned with the equal opportunities of access to higher education. For example, many articles talking about gender inequality in educational systems would begin with the examination of the enrollment ratio of male and female students. But only a limited number of such articles proceeded to the discussion of the imbalanced representation of female faculties (e.g., Jacobs, 1996; Pritchard, 2007), most of them did not (e.g., Bauer, *et al.*, 1992; Kivinen, *et al.*, 2007; Zhang, *et al.*, 2007; Ding, 2007). On one hand, this is understandable because the unequal opportunity for female students in their access to higher education may directly lead to the underrepresentation of female faculties so researches on the former topic may be more basic and urgent. On the other hand, the real situation remains that women are facing much more difficulties than their male colleagues in getting employment in universities, and female administrators in senior levels of university management are noticeable for their absence rather than their presence. Top administrative positions in universities, especially president's posts, are still occupied mainly by men.

In our previous research into university presidents, not a single female was found to be in this position in the top 100 Chinese universities¹. And according to a more authorized research report from Renmin University of China (2007), only 4.5 per cent of the university presidents in China are women. Detailed descriptions on the status of female academicians will be given in chapter 2. Here, we could generalize the overall situations for women who are about to enter or have entered the top management positions in universities as follows: although it is not impossible for a woman to gain top power in running a university, it is definitely hard and extremely challenging for her to be and to remain powerful.

Such situation is too complicated to be judged simply by good or bad. As we have suggested, on one hand, the number of female students have increased greatly in all levels of higher education, with female employees taken up nearly half the percentage in higher educational system (NBSC, 2005). On the other hand, those woman employees are clustered in non-academic positions such as logistics rather than in positions like full-time professors,

¹ The research being mentioned here can be referred to with more details in chapter 4.

and they are usually positioned in the lower ranks of university hierarchy rather than in top management positions.

The absence of women in top management positions in universities is not a unique phenomenon in China, but in many countries worldwide. According to the UNESCO (1993) report *Women in Higher Education Management*, the global picture on female managers indicates that one out of six managers is woman in the middle management level and the percentage of woman managers in senior management level decreases to less than 1/20 in HEIs (Dines, 1993). The difficult situation facing woman academicians have already been widely discussed and extensively studied by many scholars in some developed countries (e.g. Dines, 1993; Patton, 1990; Hensel, 1990), and many of these countries have already gained substantial progress in balancing gender in school management after their acknowledgement of the importance of this issue, well-developed equity policies were also established to support and consolidate the balance.

However, gender issue in university management is still a neglected topic in China. The higher education reform attracted many attentions to Chinese HEIs, and universities are being studied as organizations, university management as part of public administration. But what we see as a problem is that most of those studies are conducted with no consideration to gender differences. During the period of thesis composing, we found it really difficult to collect data on information related to gender. For example, gross data on gendered enrollment rate or number of professors are available, but detailed while authentic data on teachers' salary, number of students by disciplines, or gendered percentage of school administrators are almost nowhere to be found. This circumstance brought a lot of trouble in our analysis, but also aroused our determination into deeper research of this topic.

1.2. Thesis mission

The fast changing society casts new demands on the labor market, thus brings changes and challenges to school education, especially higher education that stands at the forefront of cultivating high quality labor force. Reform of higher education system was an inevitable demand of the society.

One thing characterized higher education reform was the increased diversity. In a sense, it is hard to say whether reforms brought universities more diversity, or the increased

diversity facilitated higher education reform. Anyway, varieties in Chinese universities developed with the increased participation of women, ethnic minorities, and foreigners, both as students and as faculty members. The degree of diversification went higher and higher as the reform proceeded gradually and steadily. Based on current situation, we would claim that further diversification is probably needed in the upper administrative level in Chinese universities. And concerning the main topic of this paper, the diversification we care the most would be the increased participation of women in senior management positions.

Participatory rate of females in senior university management not only indicates the equity level, but also acts an influential factor in the theoretical analysis of organizational operation (e.g. Acker & Van Houten, 1992; Burrell, 1992; Acker, 1992). Actually, in views of some theorists like Mills and Tancred (1992), gender structure can be seen as one of the key concepts in understanding organizational functioning. According to Acker (1992), gender is of significance in studying organizational theories for three reasons in particular. First of all, gendered processes and practices are inevitable in organizations even if they take an overt form that beyond people's realization. They also intertwine or have implications on other activities in the organization. Second, gender can be esteemed as organizational resources. For example, gender may provide solutions to managerial problems, it may promote organizational stability and it can also give impetus to organizational change. The last reason for the importance of gender in organizations, as Acker had suggested, is that it can help to reproduce gender substructure in the organization.

Gender differences in relation to leadership have also been extensively explored and documented. Although most of the researches are conducted in the context of business organizations, some are applicable to educational institutions. For example, gender has been studies for its implications to a variety of leadership styles such as transformational leadership (e.g., Carless, 1998; Mandell & Pherwani, 2003), and impression management (Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007). We will further look at these theories and findings in our analysis in chapter 5.

Until now, what we have introduced can be briefly summarized as follows: gender is an important issue in studying various types of organizations, including HEIs. Many researches and inquires have been conducted to study the implication of gender in organizational functioning, and in effective leadership in particular. But unfortunately, such researches are rarely seen in China even if this topic has already been brought forward by the

changing society. Besides, although it is gratifying to see the increased public interests on women's life and career, and some scholars paying their attention to women's promotion to management positions, much more work is needed to study the promotion path of women in HEIs.

This paper has two aims. The first broad one is to explore the unequal environment for women in Chinese HEIs. The embarrassing situation of female university presidents will be highlighted in our exploration. The second while the most important aim is to explore the root causes of such inequality and possible solutions to them. The latter can also be seen as a response to the appeal in an UNESCO report (1993: 2), which suggested that "current practices of recruitment and promotion require urgent investigation in order to understand the barriers to women's progress and to identify strategies to bring about a fairer gender balance based on professional equality". The following questions will be explored and answered by the end of this paper: what is the status of academic women, especially female university presidents in today's China? What causes the scarcity of female presidents? What is the situation in other countries? Are females as capable as males in presidential leadership? And what we could do to improve the status of women in Chinese higher educational system?

This paper is constructed in the hope of contributing to gender research, and in particular, to the research of female academicians, especially woman presidents in Chinese HEIs. Hopefully, this piece of research may call more people's attention to academic women whose lives and feelings have long been neglected, may call for more efforts being put to create an equal environment in universities for both gender, and may increase women's self-confidence in competing for senior administrative positions with their male counterparts. We also hope that this paper would be helpful for policy makers in making decisions on human resource allocations in HEIs.

1.3. Methodological concerns

Due to the lack of access to the original data, the composition of this paper is mainly based on literature review and second-hand data analysis.

Literature review runs through the main chapters of this paper. By reading a large quantity of selected books and papers, we got most of the information we need in making

analysis and discussion. However, unlike most people might do, we didn't put literature review as an independent chapter. This writing strategy was performed for two considerations. First of all, literatures on our topic are not as many as we had expected, particularly the researches conducted in the context of Chinese society are hard to be found, so we had to refer to documents in many different disciplines, and thus we felt more comfortable to relate different theories and literatures to individual chapters of the paper. By doing this, different parts of this thesis are connected by internal logic rather than by following the structure style commonly seen in papers and dissertations. Another advantage accompanying this writing strategy is that each part can be seen as an independent work on sub-topics. Second, we thought that the paper would be easier to read for ordinary people if we integrate theories with our analysis of the daily practice in Chinese universities because an independent chapter of literature review may seem too specialized and too boring for them to read.

Second-hand data were also widely used through out the paper, especially in chapter 2 and 3, which explored the status of academic women in China and in another two selected countries. In order to ensure the validity and reliability of our analysis, we tried our best to only use data collected from authentic documents and websites, such as various statistical yearbooks published by government departments, and official websites of the governments or authentic organizations which are specialized in statistics or academic researches.

Besides these two main methods used in the paper, a small portion of first-hand data was also applied in chapter 2 and 4 when doing our analysis.

We are clearly conscious of the deficiencies of the methodologies used in conducting our research. We discussed these deficiencies and made explanations when necessary, and the limitations in methodology will be further discussed at the end of this paper.

1.4. Theoretical framework and key concepts

Our inquiry into women's status in higher education is a multi-disciplinary research using various theories and research results from sociology, education, psychology, and scientific management. Among various theories applied in our analysis, we would like to identify two theories here because the application of these theories takes a large proportion in our work.

The first one is Hofstede's (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005) culture dimension. Culture theory is used twice in this paper. It first appears in our comparison of culture influence on different participatory rates of females in presidential leadership among China, Norway and US. Then it is used again in chapter 4 when we try to analyze women's barriers and obstacles in getting promoted in higher education. We adopt four perspectives in our analysis and culture is only one of them. However, it takes up half of the spaces in the analysis. We focused on the masculinity dimension the second time we used Hofstede's culture theory because masculinity characterizes both Chinese society and higher education. It also has indirect impacts on women's advancement by influencing the policy-making processes, for example.

The second one is women's career progression model we developed ourselves, enlightened by Gene Dalton and Paul Thompson's theory on career stages (Reyes, 2006). This model is introduced in chapter 4 and forms the basis in our discussion on women's barriers. The career path of women from undergraduate student to university president is divided into three phases. Correspondingly, three critical incidents are identified to facilitate our exploration and discussion.

There are several key concepts used through out the paper. Some of them need to be pre-defined in order to clarify the usage and connotation in the specific context of our discussion.

Status. In this paper, women's status in higher education is measured in two aspects, quality and quantity. The quality issue mainly deals with facts such as women's educational attainment, tenure status, professional titles, and positions in the hierarchical structure of the university. The quantity issue, by definition, talks about the absolute number and percentiles of females in different levels of higher education. This way of measuring women's status in higher education is also used by Zhao (2007).

Inequity. Inequity is defined as the fact or quality of being unfair in Oxford English Dictionary (1989). This term is used to describe the imbalanced distribution of gender in higher education, particular the underrepresentation of females in presidential leadership. It is also used to indicate the biased treatment and barriers for academic women in higher education.

Management, administration, and leadership. All of the three concepts talk about human behaviours relating to supervisory, decision-making process, planning, organizing, controlling, etc. in different kinds of organizations. Although there is no clear-cut on the connotation and proper usage among these three concepts in a definite sense, it is important for us to be aware of the differences existed.

20 years ago, leadership was the most popular term used within educational institutions. But the usage of management to the field of educational studies prevails quickly in recent years. This transition is probably a reflection of the application of borrowed theories and principles from the business world into the field of education (Bush, 2008). Distinctions between leadership and management, as some scholars have pointed out, lie in that leadership is linked with change while management with maintenance (Cuban, 1988), and also in that positional authority is absent with leadership while present with management (Bush, 2008).

The differences between administration and management are similar to that between leadership and management. Traditionally, administration is used in connection with public affairs while management deals with business affairs (Stivers, 2003). Some early scholars argued that administration is a top-level activity which generate broad governing policies while management is created after administration and follow the direction of administrators (Person, 1926; Sheldon, 1923. Both cited in Stivers, 2003). And according to Stivers (2003: 216), “administration reflects some obviously feminine (though suppressed) qualities, whereas management seems more masculine”.

Different scholars have different opinions on the proper usage of the three concepts, based on the distinctive connotations each word has. However, we use all three concepts in our thesis indicating the same behaviour because gender inequity, rather than school leadership, is the core topic in our thesis. Also, because female presidents are the main target group being studied and discussed in this paper, several adjectives usually appear preceding these three concepts, such as senior, higher level, top, and advanced. Besides, we often use presidential leadership to indicate specifically the leading behaviour of university presidents.

1.5. Organizations of this paper

Generally speaking, this is a problem-oriented paper and follows the routine structure of this kind. It begins with the identification of the problem by providing description of the phenomenon. It proceeds with analysis or justification of such phenomenon, and in this paper, barriers and obstacles that face academic women in their promotion to senior management positions in universities. Then possible solutions are brought forward and discussed aiming at solving the specific problem talked at the beginning. The next paragraph gives a more detailed introduction to the organization of this paper.

A full examination of the status quo of female university presidents in Chinese universities is made in chapter 2. It begins with a scrutinizing of females in the labor market, then gradually narrows its scope down to female faculty members, and finally to university presidents. The exploration of the problem not only concentrates on the quantity of our subjects, but also on the quality that mainly indicates the educational attainment and level of seniority. The research conducted by Renmin University (2006) is highlighted and is used as the primary source of our data. This chapter takes the look with abundance of numbers and statistical figures. In chapter 3, we build our analysis upon the comparisons of academic women among China, Norway and US. Statistical data on female university presidents in Norway and US are introduced at the first place. And possible answers to the “why different” question are given in the closing part of this chapter. Following this chapter, a tentative discussion aiming at finding out the barriers and obstacles that prevent women from promotion in HEIs is made. In another word, chapter 4 mainly talks about the origins of the problem identified in the previous chapter and gives a possible answer to the “why” question. In this chapter, we identify barriers and obstacles by analyzing different periods of the career life of academic women. The career life of academic women is divided into three phrases imaginatively, and three incidents are found to be critical in women’s progression from undergraduate student to university president. Chapter 5 is a theoretical discussion on the capability and degree of fitness of females as university presidents. This chapter begins with the changing environment of universities, and then proceeds to the discussion of the demanded and necessary skills of university presidents in such changing environment. After that, the possibility of women possessing these skills is analyzed and some favorable “feminine” traits are discussed additionally. A large number of research findings are borrowed to assist our discussion in this chapter. They include researches both in the lab

environment and in real life practice. Based on the identification and analysis of the problem in the previous chapters, chapter 6 gives some suggestions on increasing the number of female university presidents and improving women's status in HEIs. This chapter also includes a summary of the efforts and accomplishments that China has already achieved in the past few years. The last chapter discusses the advantages and limitations of this paper, and reaches a conclusion that women are as capable as men in the position of university presidents. They deserve more attention and should be given more opportunity to compete with men in senior administrative positions in universities. And there are many ways in fulfilling this goal.

Chapter 2 Status of Female University Presidents in China

It is suggested in the beginning that women are quite underrepresented in presidential leadership in Chinese HEIs. The main tasks of this chapter are to further present and describe in detail the status of the unequal distribution of women in higher education, and to draw the profile of Chinese university presidents. The status of academic women cannot be seen without the broad context of the labor market in China. And in order to facilitate the analysis of the barriers that women encountered in their progression in later chapters, we would like to start this chapter with a brief introduction to the higher educational system and the employment situation of Chinese women, and then proceed to the examination of females' status in higher education. Profiles of the university presidents will be highlighted in the end of this chapter with few discussions and comments.

2.1. Higher education in the whole educational system in China

It needs to be made clear the broad backdrop of our main topic before any detailed discussion and analysis. This section begins with the basic introduction to Chinese higher education system, its characteristics and its function in the whole educational system, and then moves to the description of the employment situation of academic women in HEIs.

2.1.1. General description

The education system in China is composed of basic education, higher education and adult education. Basic education includes pre-school education, primary education and regular secondary education (junior and senior high school). Higher education refers to education upon finishing senior secondary education. It includes degree education and non-degree education. The former one is divided into three levels – the non-university tertiary level, the undergraduate level, and the graduate level (master and doctor's program included). Higher education in China is implemented by higher education institutions (HEIs), known as universities and other research institutions acknowledged by the educational department of the State Council (NPC, 1998).

There are five categories of universities in China. They are regular HEIs, research institutions, non-university tertiary schools, HEIs for adults and private HEIs. Among these five categories, female academicians and presidents in regular HEIs are the main concern of this paper. These regular HEIs are mostly four-year's comprehensive universities which can provide a range of degree-level programs and have the right of degree conferment. Besides, these universities are all exclusively public funded. Females employed in the other four types of universities will be mentioned when necessary but will not be discussed in detail.

The Chinese government has launched two projects since the end of last century on some of the universities within the category of general HEIs. The aim of both projects is to facilitate Chinese modernization by promoting the development of a certain number of top universities in China. The first one is called "Project 211", gestated and formulated in the last decade of the 20th century and officially started in the year 2001. Around 100 top universities in China gained positions in this project (CERNET, 2000a). "Project 985" was brought forward by the former president Jiang Zemin² in 1998. A total of 34 universities had entered the project with another 4 universities entered at a later time (MoE, 2008a). Two characteristics about Chinese universities can be concluded concerning the two projects. On one hand, the total quality of universities is seen to be vital for economic development and the construction of socialism and modernization, and thus on the other hand, Chinese universities are tightly connected with party politics and are means to realize the governing of Chinese Communist Party (CCP). These two characteristics will be explained in more details in the following section.

2.1.2. Characteristics of higher education in China

As we have suggested, there are some distinct characteristics that are remarkable in Chinese higher education. These unique features differentiate Chinese universities from HEIs in other countries.

One notable characteristic of Chinese higher education relates closely to the well-being of the State. The power of science and technology in promoting economic development has been acknowledged by most countries for a long time. As the most important entities in knowledge production, universities shoulder the responsibility of expediting national

² Jiang Zemin (江泽民), president of the People's Republic of China from 1993 to 2003.

economic development. In this sense, it is quite natural that higher education is related closely to the well-being of the State. But in China, the well-being of the State not only refers to the economic development, but also the construction of socialism and modernization, as well as the stability of the governing of the communist party, so Chinese universities also share a strong responsibility in realizing party ideology.

Another feature of the higher education system in China related to the first one is the strong central control. It is prescribed in the Higher Education Law of People's Republic of China that the higher education is led and managed uniformly by the State Council (NPC, 1998). Chinese universities, especially those with very high reputation and prestige, are influenced or controlled by national or provincial government to a large extent (CERNET, 2000b). This feature may lay the explanation on the fact that all of the general HEIs in China are public funded with the government functioning as the biggest investor (CERNET, 2000b). Not only the universities, but also the governments are responsible for making strategic plans for school development. Universities directly controlled by the government should arrange their activities under the guidance of the government. Party governance has penetrated in higher education administration.

In the micro-level, "President Responsibility System"³ led under the grass-roots-level committee⁴ of the advanced Party School⁵ is practiced in HEIs administered by the State (NPC, 1998). The grass-roots-level committee takes the form of Party Committee⁶ in each university. Party Committee is responsible for school management, organizational settings, selection of university administrators (university president not included), making important plans on university reform and development, and making sure that universities are led in the "right" direction. Party secretary acts as the head of the Party Committee. He/she co-exists with president in every university in China and both are in charge of school management only with their emphasis on different work contents. Although the work responsibility of Party secretary does not consistent with that of university presidents, his/her existence in Chinese universities does have some influences on school management and administration

³ 校长负责制 xiàozhǎng fùzé zhì

⁴ 基层委员会 jīcéng wěiyuánhui

⁵ 中国共产党高等学校 zhōngguó gòngchǎndǎng gāoděng xuéxiào

⁶ 党委 dǎng wěi

compared with HEIs in other countries where political parties do not extend their power to academe this deep.

As a matter of fact, with the understanding on university management deepens, the relationship between government and universities has been re-scrutinized and thus has changed a lot during the past few decades. As Min (1994: 106) has pointed out, this relationship has gone through a systematic change from “a typical state control model to a state supervising model”. Although HEIs are running towards more autonomy, controls from the government are still very tight compared with some other countries (Min, 1994). To our view, controls from the government will probably continue during the whole process of modernization.

Another manifestation of government control over universities is that the position of university presidents also has an administrative rank⁷. University presidents and Party secretaries from the top designated 31 universities are vice-minister rank⁸. Presidents and Party secretaries from other regular universities are department or bureau director rank⁹. And presidents and Party secretaries from local three-year tertiary education institutions are deputy director rank¹⁰ or division director rank¹¹. The service level system in universities has been criticized by many people in China, especially those from academy. Criticism mainly focuses on the political corruption over academy and the idea of “officer standard¹²” may have serious negative effects on effective management. However, we have got no response from the government yet, and the service level system in Chinese universities may probably continue for some time in the future.

These unique characteristics of Chinese universities, or let's take a popular phrase, universities with Chinese characteristics, root their origins in the economic conditions. On one hand, China is still a developing country with poor economic conditions, the GNI per

⁷ Administrative rank (行政级别 xíngzhèng jíbié) refers to the hierarchy in the government administration.

⁸ 副部级 fùbù jí

⁹ 司局级 sījú jí

¹⁰ 副局级 fùjú jí

¹¹ 正处级 zhèngchù jí

¹² 官本位 guāng běnwèi

capita was only 2,360 US dollars in 2007 (World Bank, 2008); on the other hand, Chinese economy is developing so fast that astonishes the world. Enormous changes are taking place in the era before market economy mature, and many kinds of relationships in the society need to be scrutinized and reorganized. The relationship between university and government is such an example. Party politics exerting its influence into university management is the product of this unique era, and the basic idea under this phenomenon is to bring universities into the macro-management system of the State, and thus to make good use of universities for economic growth. Consequently, this instructing idea will have impact on higher education, reflecting on school management is a dual management system with president and Party secretary both function as the head of the university. One of them enters in the focus of this paper.

2.1.3. President searching and selection in Chinese universities

The searching and selection procedures for university presidents are tightly connected with the characteristics of Chinese HEIs. Actually, presidents in all the regular HEIs in China are selected and appointed by the government. Article 40 in the Higher Education Law prescribes that president of the HEIs shall be occupied by qualified citizen stated in the Education Law. The appointment and removal of presidents and vice-presidents of HEIs shall be conducted according to State regulations (NPC, 1998). It is reasonable that the order of president appointment is issued by the government because quite a number of universities in China are supervised and administered directly by the government. But the searching process for presidents is not open and clear at all compared with the same practice in many other countries. Although it is reported that the most important source of university presidents in China is the higher educational system itself, new trend that arouses the attention of the scholars recently is that presidents in some universities are appointed directly by redeploying government officers to universities. For example, Yang Wei, former director of the Department of Academic Degrees Management and Graduate Education in the Ministry of Education, was appointed the president of Zhejiang University in 2006.

In contrast with the way Chinese university presidents are selected, other world universities usually have a more integral and open process for presidents' search and selection.

Let's take the Chinese University of Hong Kong for example. Once the position of university president is vacant, a search committee will be set to find the appropriate candidates. Advertisements shall be published in English in no less than 2 overseas journals or newspapers and 2 local newspapers, and Chinese advertisements in no less than 2 local newspapers. Related information shall also be published on the internet in order to be notified by as many people as possible. The position is open to everyone with specific requirements for qualification. Candidates who enter the interview will have their publications reviewed by at least 7 people. The article is esteemed to be the best that can represent the academic ability of the candidate and is selected by the candidate him/herself. People responsible for reviewing the publications are senior scholars with very high reputation. Besides, they cannot be the colleagues or former colleagues of the candidate, the supervisor, the co-author of the article, or relatives of the candidate. In short, the process of president searching and selecting is a serious business and every detail needs to be considered and prescribed clearly, such as the qualification of the candidate and the search committee members, specific job content of the president, the way searching advertisements are published, and any other specific requirement. The complexity of the searching process is to guarantee the ability and the competence of the future president, as well as to show the openness and clarity, and thus equality in president search.

President search process is more or less the same in many other developed countries such as UK and US. But when we try to find out how Chinese university presidents are selected, information is simply missing. Everything visible can be concluded as "university presidents in China are selected and appointed by the government".

The covert procedure in president searching and selection arouses our curiosity in its outcomes. One thing that has popped out in our sight is the extremely disproportionate distribution of woman university presidents.

2.2. The employment status of women in the labor market

The status of female university presidents in Chinese universities cannot be seen separately from the employment situation of academic women in educational industry; and the employment situation of women in education cannot be analyzed regardless of the

employment status of women in the labor market. So first of all, I would like to present briefly women's employment situation in the labor market.

It is well known that China is a big country with a large population. By the end of 2004, the total population came to approximately 1,299,880,000, among which 48.5% were females (NBSC, 2005). Females have long been a little bit less than males (the percentage of female people varied among 48.1% to 49.2% from 1952 to 2004) in the total population. In 2004, among people employed in urban units, women counted for 38.1%, slightly higher than 37.8% in 2002 and 37.9% in 2003 (NBSC, 2003, 2004b, 2005). The same figure was 46.76% in the US and 47.20% in Norway in 2003 (NBSC, 2005). Among a total of 47.5% of female employment in education, women took up 50.5% employment in primary education, 44.0% in secondary education and 43.2% in higher education (NBSC, 2005). Actually, the percentage of women employees in education is among the highest compared with other economic sectors¹³. The percentage of women is lowest (compared with the total percentage of women employment) in mining (23.4%), construction (15.4%), traffic, transport, storage and post (28.1%), and public management & social organization (26.7%) (NBSC, 2005).

One thing we would like to point out here is that, it is reasonable that women take small percentage in economic sectors such as mining, construction and traffic, transport, storage and post for they are protected by State regulations away from such terrible working conditions, but how comes that women are also underrepresented in public management and social organization? To think forward, the percentage of women in education is calculated mainly by the number of teachers in all levels of schools. While it is commonly accepted that university administration is in essence a form of public management. Although it is not clearly indicated in the statistical yearbook that which categories university administrators belong to, I suppose the low percentage of women in public management and social organization is coincide with the low percentage of woman university presidents.

The income level for female employees is lower than that of male in all industries, especially in mining & quarrying, and public service. Women are paid 74% of the wages as men in these two industries (NBSC, 2004a).

¹³ Other economic sectors with high participation of female labors include accommodation and restaurants (55.2%), finance (47.9%), and sanitation, social security & social welfare (59.1%).

For short, the status of women in the labor market has improved a lot since the foundation of new China. However, because women have been neglected and oppressed long in history, and because of the remains of feudalism ideology, equality between men and women is still yet to be realized in Chinese society.

2.3. Status of women in Chinese higher education

As we have introduced in the first chapter, the method we will use to measure women's status is by scrutinizing their participatory rates in different levels of higher education. To be specifically, we will focus the examination on the status of female doctoral students, faculty members, and presidents. Educational attainment and professional titles will be used as variables in analyzing the status of female faculty members and presidents.

2.3.1. Status of female doctoral students and faculty in higher education

Table 2.1 shows the number and percentage of male and female students that have been conferred master and doctor's degree in selected years from 1991 to 2002. Two apparent features can be generated from the table. Firstly, female doctors in percentage of total doctoral students are always lower than that of female masters in the year presented. It may suggest that female students are disadvantaged in quantity when progressing from master's level to doctor's level of study. Secondly, the percentage of female student conferred doctoral degree is increasing gradually, which may indicate changes inside and outside school system. These changes may include favorable policies for female doctoral students, changing societal values towards women, or maybe something negative – the deteriorating labor market that pushes the females to pursue a higher degree before getting employed.

Table 2.1: Number of students been conferred master and doctor's degrees in selected years from 1991-2002 and gender constitution

Year	Master's Degree			Doctoral Degree		
	Number	Gender Constitution (%)		Number	Gender Constitution (%)	
		Female	Male		Female	Male
1991	30392	20.0	80.0	2532	9.0	91.0
1995	27123	28.0	72.0	4641	12.0	88.0
2000	47565	34.1	65.9	11004	21.5	78.5
2002	66203	38.7	61.3	14638	26.0	74.0

Source: Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 2002 (MoE, 2002).

Among female employees in higher education, 59.7% are faculty members in 2004, 16.7% are administrators, 11.82% are support staff and 11.79 are workers (MoE, 2005). The percentage of female faculty has increased by more than 10% from 1994 to 2004.

Correspondingly, the percentages of female administrators, support staff and workers decreased with different extent respectively (see figure 2.1). Besides, women took only

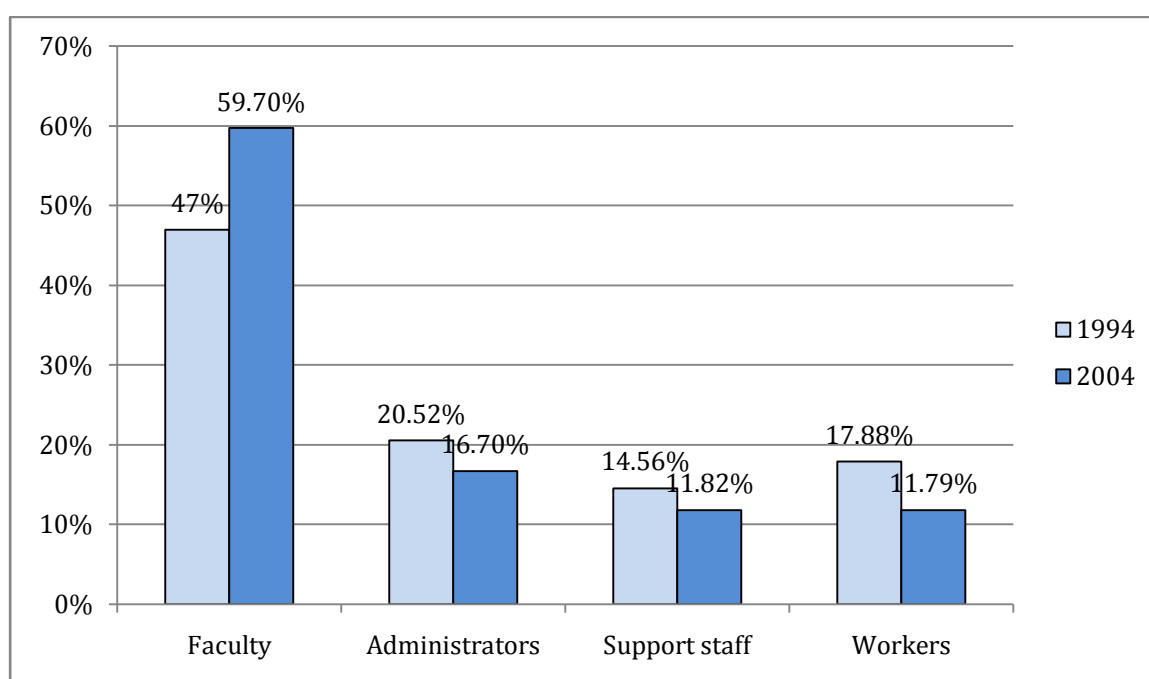


Figure 2.1: The composition of women staff & workers in higher education in 1994 and 2004

Source: Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 1994, 2004 (MoE, 1994, 2005).

19.3% in full-time professors (Zhao, 2007).

Figure 2.2 shows the distribution of male and female teachers with different educational attainment in regular HEIs. From the figure, we can see that the difference between male and female teachers percentage decreases as the educational attainment lowers. But this trend is interrupted at the level of under-bachelor's degrees where the difference between male and female teachers in percentage goes larger again. The difference between male and female teachers percentage is most significant in the doctoral level where less than 1/5 of teachers holding a doctor's degree are female. Although this phenomenon is in accordance with the distribution of male and female students in different levels of study, it also demonstrates the scarcity of female teachers with higher educational attainment, which may lead to their disadvantaged status in promotion.

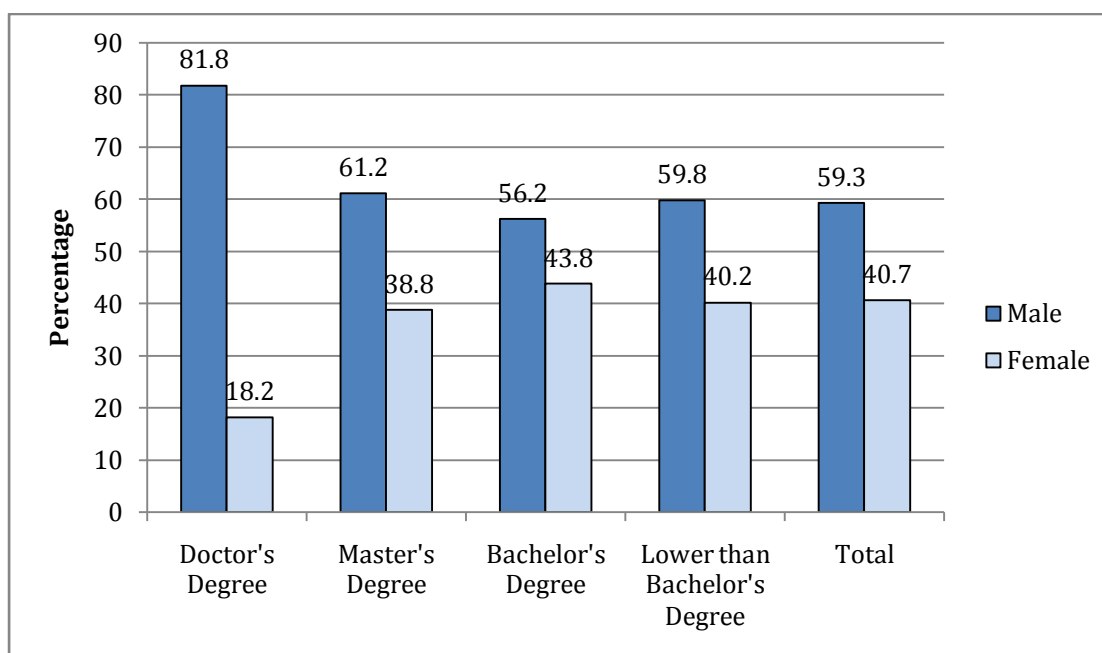


Figure 2.2: Percentage of male and female teachers in regular HEIs in terms of their educational attainment

Source: Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 2002 (MoE, 2002).

Professional title¹⁴ is widely used in State-owned and collective-owned units. It reflects the degree of seniority and professionalism in one's specialty. There are four levels of titles, namely the senior, sub-senior, mid-level, and junior professional titles. The

¹⁴ 职称 (zhí chēng).

assessment of professional titles is very strict but in a certain sense, not quite reasonable¹⁵. The professional title system in essence remains of the planned economy reflecting single criteria over diverse bodies. Actually, Higher Education Law (NPC, 1998) has prescribed in article 47 that teacher's post has four different levels: assistant, lecturer, associate professor and professor. The later system in assessing seniority and professionalism is more specific and appropriate in university environment. As a matter of fact, the dual assessing system in universities imposes teachers with extra burden which may get them distracted from normal teaching and researching tasks. Furthermore, the professional title system makes the university more similar to government. Just as what we have discussed earlier that "officer standard" may greatly hampers university presidents in exerting their power, the professional-title system in universities may also jeopardize the efficacy of teaching and researching.

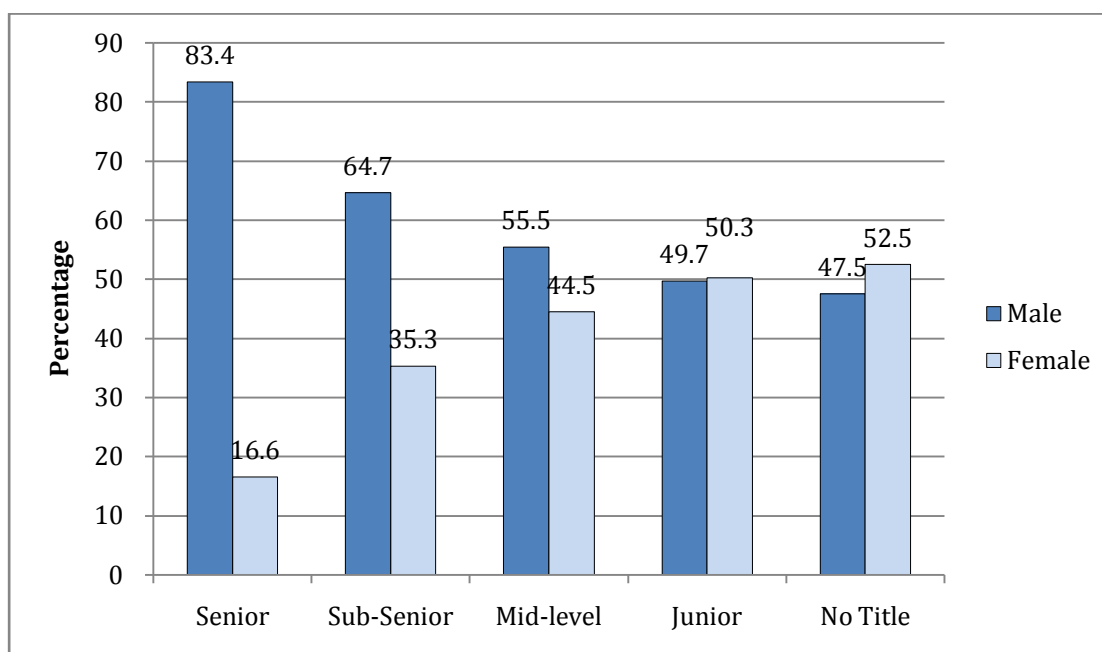


Figure 2.3: Percentage of male and female staffs & workers in regular HEIs in China in terms of their professional titles, 2002

Source: Educational Statistics Yearbook of China (MoE, 2002).

Figure 2.3 shows the percentage of male and female staffs and workers in regular HEIs in terms of their professional titles in 2002. The trend shown in the figure indicates that females are disadvantaged in more advanced titles. Huge difference appears in senior level,

¹⁵ For example, one indicator in assessing one's capability in specific professional title is the mastery of a foreign language, which in fact, is almost useless for many posts.

and the percentage of women exceeded that of men only in junior level or among people without any title.

So far we've got an overall impression of the status of women in higher education that they are quite underrepresented in almost all senior levels.

2.3.2. Profiles of university presidents in China – Findings from the “Research on the qualities of Chinese university presidents”¹⁶

It has already been stated in the first chapter that one of the main sources of data in this paper is “*Researches on the Qualities of Chinese University Presidents*” conducted by RUC (2007). This research investigated mainly the demographic characteristics of presidents who currently held the post during the investigation in 1792 universities, including all kinds of higher education institutions that I have introduced under the first sub-title in this section. Research findings include presidents' gender, ethnicity, professional title, educational background, and their specialty, study/work experiences, etc. Among these traits, we will concentrate mainly on their gender, age, educational background, and specialty, because these traits are comparable in cross-cultural studies and will help in our further discussion of barriers for academic women.

2.3.2.1. The general profile of Chinese university presidents

The RUC survey collected data on presidents from 1792 higher educational institutions. Gender information was collected on 1500 presidents and age information on 1062 presidents. The results showed that the average age of university presidents was 52.0 years. And men constituted 95.5% of the whole “presidents group” while women consisted only 4.5% (see figure 2.4). Among all those presidents, 43.9% of them held the doctoral degree, 30.2% the master's, and 25.4% the bachelor's, while only 0.4% of them had their highest education under the bachelorette level. Most presidents hold the senior level professional titles. 77.2% presidents are professors or senior researchers, with others are in possession of titles equivalent to sub-senior level. Presidents who were promoted from the

¹⁶ If not indicated, data on Chinese university presidents presented in this section are exclusively collected from 国内高校校长基本特征网上资料调查报告: “品味” 中国高校的领军人物 (*the Report of Web Information on Basic Characteristics of Chinese University Presidents – Experiencing Leaders of Chinese Universities*) by Weilin Niu and Hongyi Zhan. Last updated on August 20, 2007. Last retrieved assess on January 12, 2008. URL: <http://newsl.ruc.edu.cn/102382/48585.html>.

lower level in the same universities took up 36.7% of the whole group. And 86.2% of all the presidents had work experiences in the higher education system before they became university presidents.

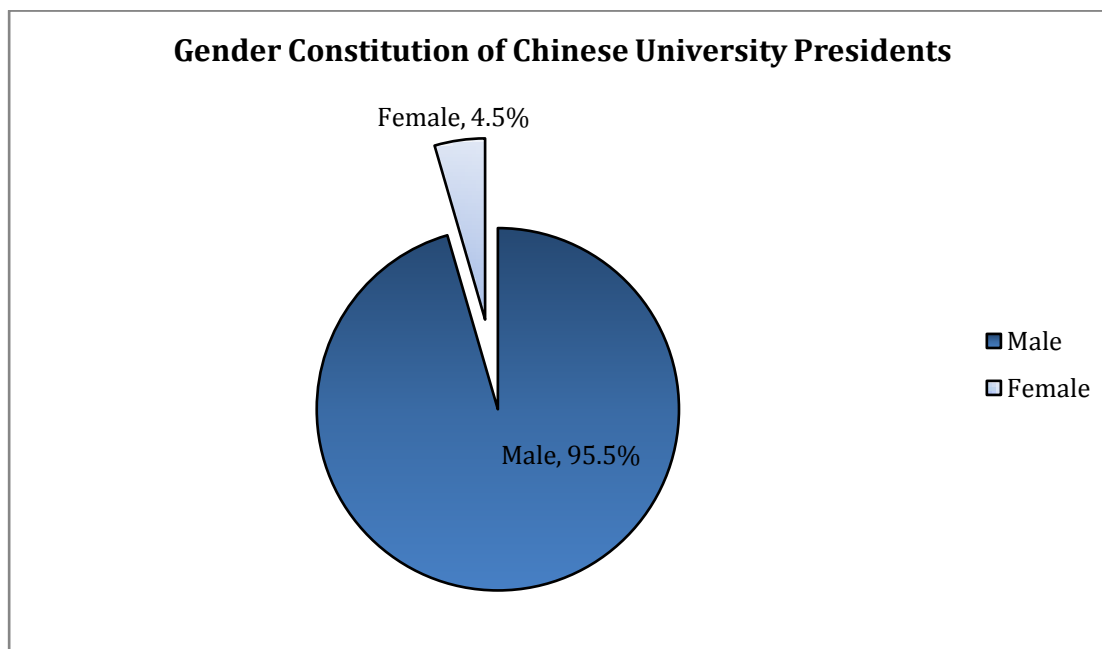


Figure 2.4: Gender constitution of Chinese university presidents by percentage

Source: RUC (2007).

Figure 2.5 shows the distribution of university presidents in terms of their specialties. From the figure, we can see that a large portion of presidents had some kind of training in science, technology and engineering (STE) (about 46% of the total presidents). One in three presidents was trained in technology while the total percentage of presidents in history, philosophy and education counts a little bit more than 10 percent.

The RUC survey also shows that generally speaking, the educational attainments of the university presidents are relatively high (see figure 2.6). Nearly half of the presidents have certificates equivalent to doctoral degree. About one third has master's degree, and one fourth has bachelor's degree. Less than 1% of the presidents have their highest educational attainment below bachelor's degree.

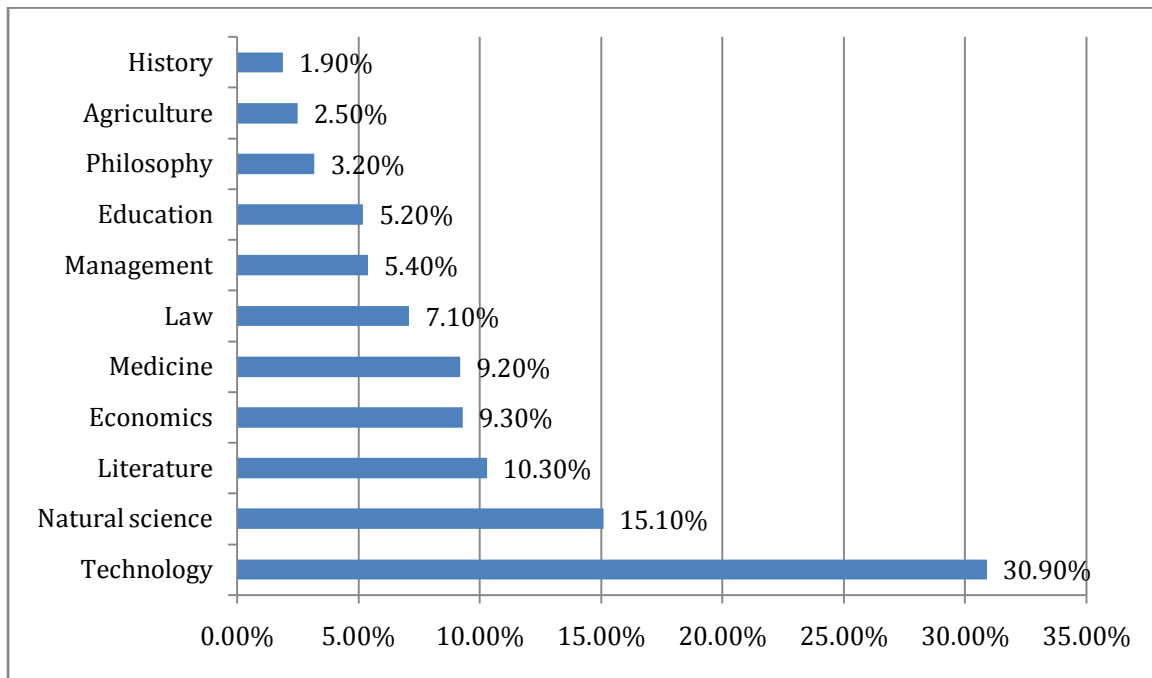


Figure 2.5: Training in Terms of Specific Disciplines of Chinese University Presidents

Source: RUC (2007).

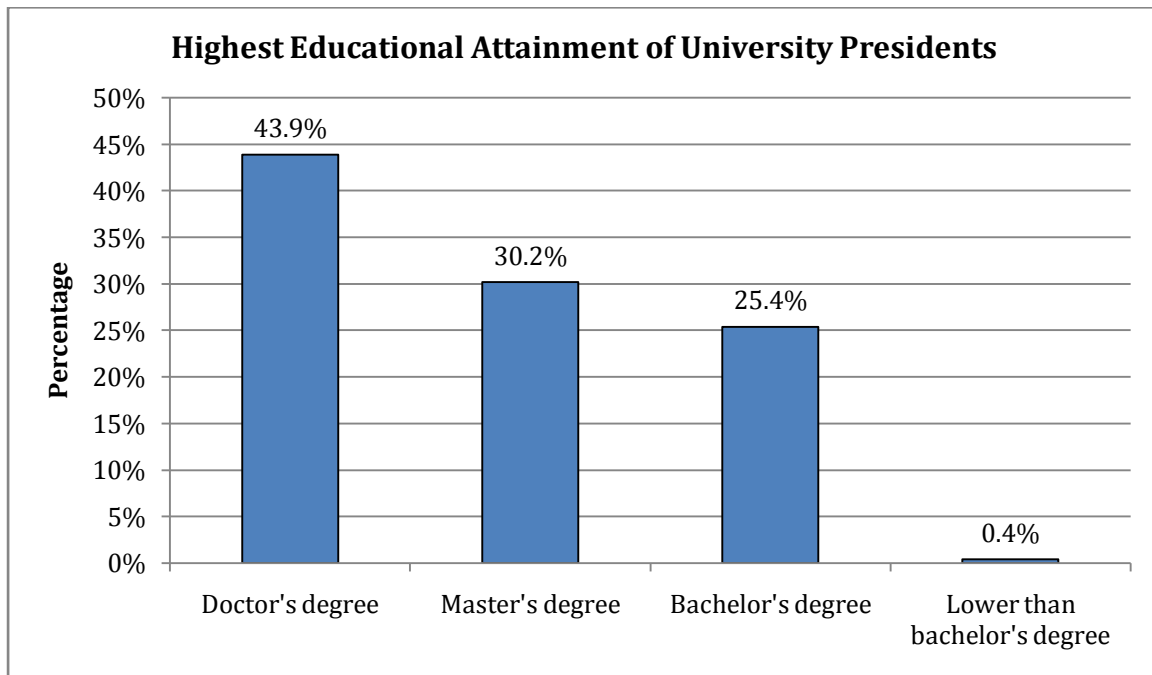


Figure 2.6: Educational attainment of Chinese university presidents (in percentage)

Source: RUC (2007).

Some of the readers may have had expected a higher percentage of presidents who hold doctoral degrees. It is understandable because one could expect a person to be the most talented and intelligent people with highest educational achievement if that person is the

leader of an organization. Actually, this expectation for university presidents doesn't fall too far away from the reality. And we will see that in our presentation of categorical characteristics of university presidents.

2.3.2.2. Categorical characteristics of Chinese university presidents

Considering that there are different types of universities in Chinese higher education system, RUC also provided us with the categorical characteristics of Chinese university president concerning the different types of universities where these presidents come from. A horizontal comparison among the presidents from different types of universities is shown in table 2.2.

From the higher education system we have introduced earlier, we can roughly consider that universities in 985 Project are better than those in 211 Project. And those in 211 Project are better than other regular HEIs. So far so forth. If we see the table arranged according to the ranks of the university, then certain trends can be generated. First, the average age of the president decreases as the rank of university decreases, with the exception in private universities of which the average age of presidents are significantly older than other four types of universities. The possible explanation could be as followed: the other four types of HEIs are mostly state-owned public institutions so their presidents are selected and appointed by the government. But for private universities, they need to find an appropriate president candidate themselves, so probably they would like to hire someone retired from the public universities because the quality of the candidate would be guaranteed if he/she had similar experiences before. And thus the presidents of private universities are older than that from public institutions. The percentage of presidents who used to be senior university administrators before current appointment may also give support to this explanation that some presidents in private universities come from public universities after retirement.

The second characteristic that can be generated from table 2.2 is that, generally speaking, woman university presidents are more in scarcity in better universities. Female presidents count for 2.8 percent in 985 Project universities and 2.0 percent in 211 Project universities (see figure 2.7). The highest percentage of woman university presidents appears in private universities, which may have something to do with the diverse sources of its president.

The third trend is connected with presidents' educational attainment. It is clearly indicated in the table that the better the universities are, the higher educational attainment the presidents have achieved. Now the readers may not be disappointed anymore in seeing that the percentage of presidents holding doctoral degree in 985 Project universities reaches 82.9 percent, which is in equivalent to that of American presidents. Percentage of presidents with doctoral degree is also very high in other four-year public universities. But the same figure drops dramatically in private universities and 3-year colleges.

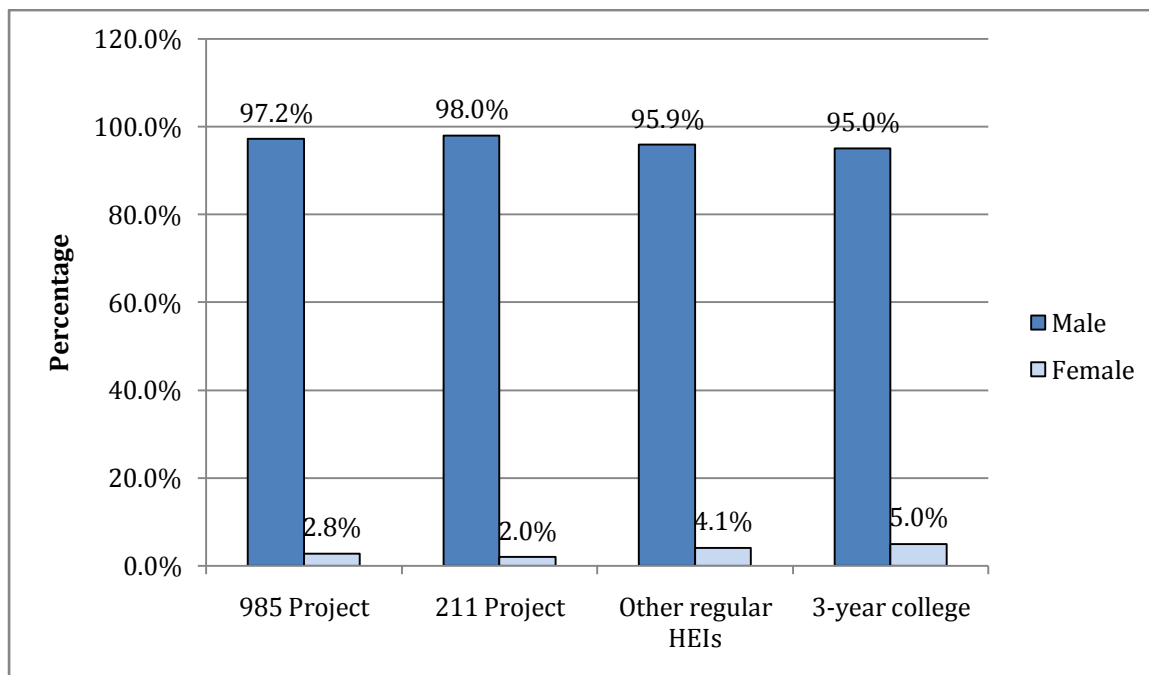


Figure 2.7: Gender constitutions of presidents in different types of universities

Source: RUC (2007).

RUC survey didn't provide us with categorical data on professional titles of the presidents. And it used "most" rather than numbers in describing presidents with senior level title. However, we could do a small calculation about the potential female presidents using the data we collected on female faculty. Supposing that the senior professional title and doctoral degree are indispensable conditions in getting president appointment, we could count the approximate percentage of potential female presidents by multiplying the percentage of female faculty with doctoral degree (18.2) by those with senior level title (16.6%). The result is 3.02%, which is a little bit lower than the actual result in RUC survey. There are several explanations to this error. First, this calculation is based on the assumption that senior professional title and doctoral degree are essential in becoming president. However, "most presidents have" cannot guarantee the essentialness. So the calculation

cannot be accurate. Second, mathematically, this way of calculation is wrong because it is in fact conducted between two groups of woman faculties. Even if these two groups may not vary much from each other, such calculation is wrong in mathematics. The error is much more obvious if we do the same to male faculty. If we multiple the percentage of male faculty with doctoral degree (81.8%) by those with senior professional title (83.4%), the result will be 68.2%, which is far away from the that in actual situation. Nevertheless, the logic behind this calculation is sound. And if we have more accurate data on university presidents and female faculty in HEIs, we could do our calculation of female candidate pool much accurately. This also suggests a possible direction of future research on university presidents, that is, researches into the estimation of university president candidate pool.

Table 2.2: The horizontal comparison among university presidents from different kind of higher educational institutions in China

University categories ¹⁷	985 Project	211 Project	Other universities	Private universities	3-year college
Number of universities	36	101	617	248	1085
Average age ¹⁸	55.1	54.9	51.9	58.4	51.6
Gender ¹⁹ (%)	97.2	98.0	95.9	93.4	95.0
male					
female	2.8	2.0	4.1	6.6	5.0
Doctor's degree	82.9	71.1	61.1	20.8	21.8
Master's degree	11.4	22.7	24.4	33.3	37.6
Bachelor's degree	5.7	6.2	13.7	43.3	40.1
Under bachelorette	0	0	0.5	2.5	0.4
Senior administrator before ²¹ (%)	40	30.5	47.3	58.3	51.7

Source: RUC (2007).

¹⁷ There are some overlaps among university categories.

¹⁸ Average age of the university presidents

¹⁹ Gender distribution of the university presidents

²⁰ Distribution of the educational background of the university presidents

²¹ Here “before” means before they became university presidents

2.4. Summary

This chapter introduced the status of women in Chinese HEIs comprehensively. It starts from the introduction to higher education system, to the president selection procedure; from women's employment in the labor market, to women in presidential leadership.

It can be concluded that women are still underrepresented in the labor market even though the females take nearly half of the employment in education. And women with senior titles or favorable educational achievement are quite in shortage in universities. In addition, the basic characteristics of Chinese university presidents are different from that of our American counterparts, manifested mainly in the distribution pattern of their specialties. And the quality of presidents also diversifies among different types of HEIs.

In short, women are disadvantaged in quantity in presidential leadership. Seen from the surface, it may have its origin in the short supply of qualified female employees in the labor market. But deeper analysis will reveal more barriers that academic women have encountered in their progression. These barriers are rooted in the culture and the society, and are the roots of inequality.

The question we are facing now is that, is the underrepresentation of females in higher education a unique phenomenon in China? Or is it the same in other countries? The next chapter will answer this question by examining women's status in higher education in the US and Norway. We hope to get enlightened and find some suggestions by comparing practices in different countries.

Chapter 3 Status of Female University Presidents in the United States and Norway

It is noted by some scholars that international comparisons among the status of female faculties are inadequate in China (Zhao, 2007). However, differences in educational traditions and social attitudes inevitably lead to differences in the status of female faculties in different countries. So it is hard to imagine that the status of woman university presidents would be the same in China, US and Norway. By doing comparative studies, we can find similarities and differences of the way three countries dealing with gender issues in higher education. And by analyzing the similarities and differences, we may get better understanding of the problem and illumination of how to solve the problem. The Chinese philosophy believes that no distinguishment will be made without making comparisons, and no progress will be made without making distinguishment. Based on such belief, we will try to make our analysis from an international perspective. That is to say, after depicting the profile of women in Chinese universities, we will now turn our attention to female presidents in US and Norway, in the hope that the comparison would be enlightening and may facilitate our analysis in later chapters.

This chapter will begin with the general description of woman intellectuals in higher education in the United States and Norway respectively, with focus on the status of female university presidents. Generally speaking, female faculties in higher education face similar problems worldwide. For instance, they are minorities in population, encounter many difficulties in progression, and are not seen as equally able as men in many aspects (e.g., Dines, 1993; Gendreau-Massaloux & Fave-Bonnet, 1993; Jacobs, 1996). But differences exist among countries and regions on the degree of inequality. It is assumed that discriminations against women are fewer in societies that have a strong feminine value such as Norway and other Scandinavian countries. So the differences between genders in societies with strong feminine value orientation are not as salient as that in American or Chinese society, concerning the daily conception of the public. We will further look at this assumption as this chapter proceeds.

The same methods, as we have used in chapter 2, will be adopted to depict the status of female university presidents in US and Norway. Second-hand statistical data will act as the main illustrator in exploring the issue. In addition to the examination of the status of female

university presidents, we will also take a brief look at women in their midway to presidency, and by this, we are indicating woman full-time professors and female doctoral graduates. Short background information may go preceding statistics when necessary.

Following the statistics, an international comparison among China, US and Norway will be drawn. Reasons to the different participatory level of women in university administration will be explored from a cultural perspective.

3.1. Academic women in the United States

American universities are relatively young compared with those European universities that may have their history back to the medieval century. But the undeniable truth is that they have already played the most important role in the world stage of higher education. Strong research abilities and funding makes American universities become the most prestigious in the world. American universities have attracted millions of brilliant brains, especially those students, scholars and researchers from other countries, who have contributed a lot to the diversity and research abilities of American universities while pursuing academic excellence. Many advantaged educational theories were developed in American universities and rich experience on school teaching and learning was accumulated in her short history. The success of American universities may provide us with a good example on balancing gender in university management.

3.1.1. Background information on American universities

There are more than 6500 HEIs in the United States, among which 10 per cent are public four-year colleges and universities and more than 2/3 are private not-for-profit and for-profit four-year colleges and universities. Nevertheless, public institutions enroll 75 per cent of students while private enrolls only 25 percent approximately.

American universities are highly decentralized. A basic philosophical belief that shapes American universities is that high quality in teaching and learning is better based on competitiveness rather than centralized planning (Eckel & King, 2006). This is in contrast with Chinese universities which are under centralized government planning.

According to the US Constitution, public colleges and universities are under the governing of each 50 states, not the federal government. Actually, the federal government

only plays a limited role in higher education. And the degree of state government control varies greatly from state to state.

Although government plays an important role in financing higher education, colleges and universities are usually funded by diverse sources, including tuitions fees from students and their families, appropriations, grants, private endowment, etc. (Eckel & King, 2006).

Diversities in school size and mission lead to varieties in internal organizations and structures. But generally speaking, lay board of trustees tends to be the main governing body in most colleges and universities. Universities president is hired by the board, and “is responsible for providing overall leadership to the institution, managing its finances and budget, developing and executing the institution’s strategic plan, and establishing systems of accountability and performance” (Eckel & King, 2006: 1046).

3.1.2. University presidents in America

According to the published report of ACE (American Council on Education) on American College Presidents, the percentage of female presidents increased more than doubled from 10 percent in 1986 to 23 percent in 2006 (ACE, 2007). The average age of presidents in 2006 was 60 years, 8 years older than the same figure in 1986, also than that of China in 2006. And presidents who were aged 61 or older took 49% of the total in 2006, “suggesting that many institutions will lose their presidents to retirement in coming years” (ACE, 2007).

A notable characteristic about American university presidents is that nearly half of the presidents had their training in the field of education; the percentage goes as high as 42.7, which is much higher than the same figure in China and in Europe (see table 3.4). Humanities and fine arts is the discipline in which the second largest amount of presidents had their training, following are religion and theology, physical or natural sciences, law, medicine, engineering and agriculture.

In contrast with Chinese universities, American universities only have limited number of presidents trained in engineering. And the high percentage of presidents in education indicates that the degree of specialization is quite high on educational leaders’ profession. In another word, university president is becoming a professional post in America. In such kind of post, qualification and competence becomes primary in selecting presidents.

3.1.3. Female staff and doctoral students

Table 3.1 and 3.2 show the gendered participation in American universities, and in administrative positions in particular. From these tables, we can see that administrative/managerial staff was employed mostly on the full-time bases, and the number of woman administrative staff was slightly higher than male in both full-time and part-time positions, especially part-time. But full-time female faculty was far more less than male faculty; neither did part-time female faculty. Among female faculty members, 48.7 per cent were hired on the full-time bases while the same figure was 57.6 among male faculty members (NCES, 2005b).

In 2003-04 academic year, 47.7 per cent doctoral degrees were conferred to female students (NCES, 2005a). This figure is almost twice than that in China. Specific disciplines in which doctoral degrees are conferred to female students are introduced in figure 3.1.

Table 3.1: Faculty²² at title IV degree-granting institutions²³, by gender and full-time/part-time: United States, fall 2003

	Total	Full-time	Part-time	Percent ²⁴
Male	664,150	382,232	473,793	57.6
Female	509,406	248,187	261,219	48.7
Percent ²⁵	43.4	39.4	35.5	

Source: NCES (2005b)

²² Faculty include only those staff whose principal activity is instruction, research, or public service; full-time staff who teach one or two courses are not included as faculty, unless this is their primary activity.

²³ The Title IV Degree-granting Institutions referred in the table are a subset of all institutions surveyed in winter 2003-04. They include 4,235 of the 6,557 Title IV Institutions required to complete the Employees by Assigned Position component, 4,060 of the 4,152 Title IV Institutions required to complete the Salaries component, and 3,923 of the 4,857 Title IV Institutions required to complete the Fall Staff component.

²⁴ It refers to full-time faculty in percentage of total faculty of the same gender.

²⁵ Here it refers to female faculty in percentage of total faculty.

Table 3.2: Executive/Administrative/Managerial staff at title IV degree-granting institutions, by gender and full-time/part-time: United States, fall 2003

	Total	Full-time	Part-time	Percent
Male	90,031	87,540	2,491	97.2
Female	93,122	89,348	3,774	95.9
Percent	50.8	50.5	60.2	

Source: NCES (2005b)

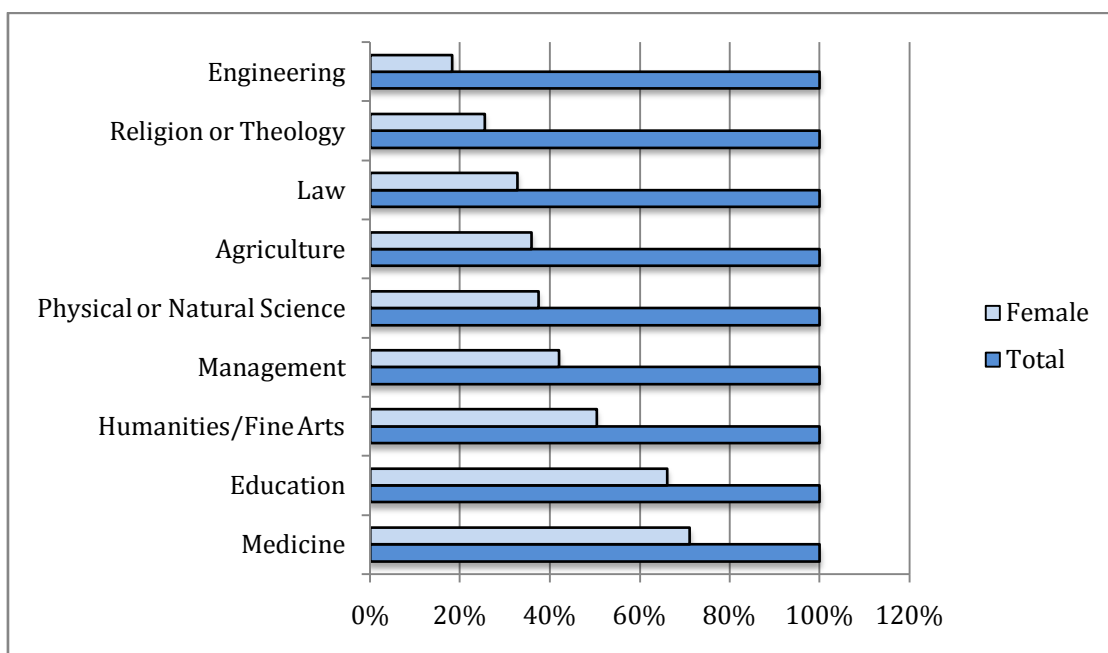


Figure 3.1: Doctoral Degrees Conferred to Female Students in Percentage, Selected Disciplines: United States, Academic Year 2003-04 (adapted)

Source: NCES (2006).

Woman doctors took up high percentages in medicine (71.1%) and education (66.1%), and half in humanities/fine arts; but were quite underrepresented in engineering (18.3%), which has long been a male dominated discipline.

3.2. Women university rectors in Norway

Norway is relatively a small country in its size and population²⁶. Universities may possibly be the most complex organizations across the country (Wasser, 2007a). What matches the small size of Norway is the small number of its universities. There are 70 institutions in tertiary education in Norway, and among which are only 6 comprehensive universities, namely the Universitetet I Oslo (UiO), Universitetet I Bergen (UiB), Universitetet I Tromsø (UiT), NorgesTeknisk-NaturvitenskapeligeUniversitet (NTNU), Universitetet I Stavanger (UiS) and Universitetet for Miljø – og Biovitenskap (UMB), and 6 specialized university institutions (Statistics Norway, 2007a). Like other Scandinavian countries, Norwegian society is characterized by strong feminine values such as nurturance and support (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005); it has also taken initiatives to encourage women's employment in universities and other research institutions. As a result, the share of female staffs in HEIs is relatively larger than in other countries (Schmidt, 2006). This feature of Norwegian society makes itself a perfect candidate in comparing academic women in higher education.

3.2.1. Background information on Norwegian universities

Higher education system in Norway is perceived as a public responsibility, despite the existence of various private HEIs. Although the educational system in Norway is traditionally State controlled and funded by public sources, the process of decentralization had begun and HEIs began to enjoy autonomy to a large extent, universities are gaining weight in shared responsibilities in regional and national socio-economic development (Fride, 1985; Schmidt, 2006).

“Higher education is funded by the government by means of framework allocations. The total amount granted directly to the institutions is determined by Parliament as part of the annual budget. ... Public funding dominates the research financing at universities and colleges, while institutions may also apply for additional funds from the Research Council and other agents” (Schmidt, 2006: 529-530).

²⁶ Norway has an area of 385,155 km² and a total population of 4.75 million, which is only one fourth of the area in US and China respectively, 1/64 of the population in US and 1/278 of China.

The organizational structure in Norway's university is somewhat different from that of China and America. The highest governing body is university board which is responsible in making important decisions, school development strategies, etc., as well as financial responsibilities. University rector²⁷, corresponding to the university president in China and America, usually acts as the head of the academic and administrative activities and secretary to the board. Usually there are one to two pro-rectors, or vice-rectors in each university who will assist the work of the rector.

In order to show the power structure in Norway's universities more clearly, I would like to take NTNU for example, the organizational map is shown in figure 3.2.

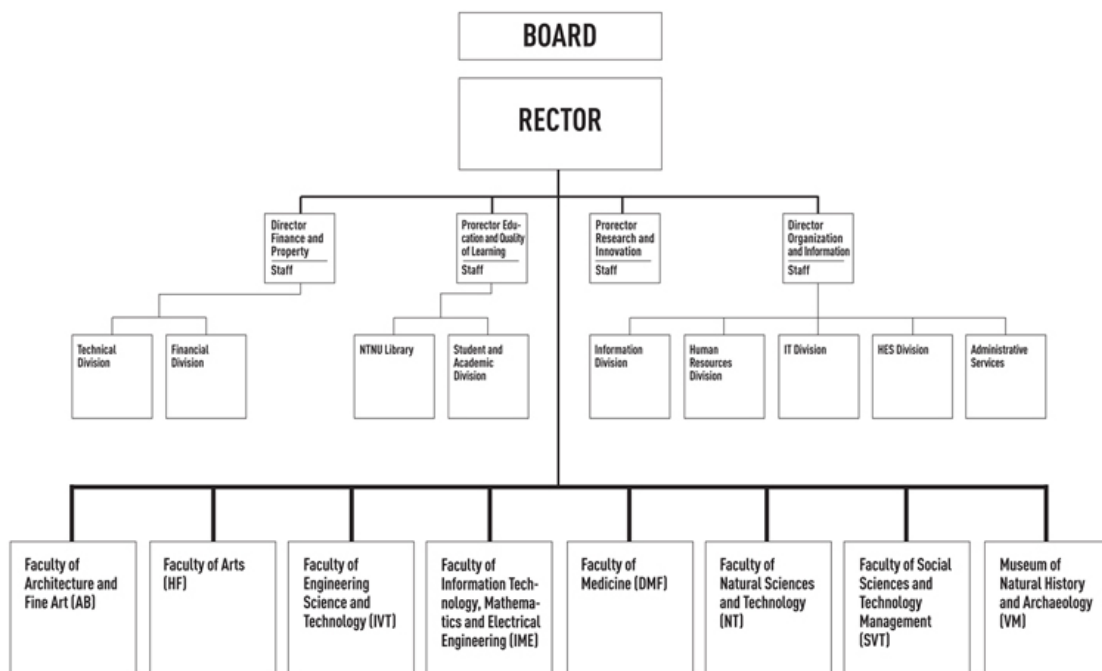


Figure 3.2: The organizational map of NTNU

Source: NTNU website. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.

URL: <http://www.ntnu.no/orgmap>.

3.2.2. Female university rectors in Norway

One rector among the six from the comprehensive universities in Norway is woman²⁸, so the proportion of female rectors goes to 16.67%. Considering the small size of the

²⁷ The term "rector" focuses on the macro level of school administration. It came into use in 1975 as the extension of another term "skolestyrer" which by literal means school administrator (Karlsen cited in Tjeldvoll *et al.* 2005).

²⁸ During the period of thesis writing, the rector of the UiO is Geir Ellingsrud; the rector of the UiB is Sigmund Grønmo; the rector of the UiT is Jarle Aarbakke; the rector of the NTNU is Torbjørn Digernes; the rector of the UiS is Aslaug Mikkelsen (female) and the rector of the UMB is Knut Hove.

population when calculating this percentage, we further take pro-rectors/vice-rectors into the total population; then females consist up to 56.25% of the university rectors/vice-rectors in Norway²⁹. Compared with university presidents in China and America, Norway has a relatively high percentage of female rectors, which may partly due to the feminine value of the society.

Among these rectors and vice/pro-rectors, six have degrees in humanity or social sciences, one in education, five in natural sciences and three in medicine with another in veterinary. So generally speaking, rectors in Norwegian universities are evenly distributed in social sciences and natural sciences respectively. This is in contrast with presidents in China and America, who has a skewed distribution among university presidents in terms of their specialty.

Seen from the number of female rectors, women seem to be nicely treated in Norway. Considering the small number of universities and rectors in the country, we will now turn our attention to female teachers and doctoral students in Norwegian universities.

3.2.3. Female staff and doctoral students

In 2003, there are 2928 female university teachers in Norway (68.69% men are full-time teachers among 6625 male university teachers and 67.86% women are full-time teachers among 2928 female university teachers). Among a total number of 6538 full-time teachers in Norway's universities, 30.39% are female. This proportion is almost identical to that of all teachers. So it is possible for us to conclude that female teachers are not being discriminated against for obtaining the tenure of full-time professors seen from the percentage number presented here (see table 3.3).

²⁹ UiO has one male pro-rector and one female vice-rector; UiB has one female deputy rector and two female vice-rectors; UiT has one female pro-rector; NTNU has two female pro-rectors; UiS has a male vice-rector and UMB has one female pro-rector with the other pro-rector's position vacant at the time of data collection.

Table 3.3: University teachers in Norway by gender and full-time/part-time in the year 2003³⁰

	All teachers	Full-time	Part-time	Percentage ³¹
Male	6625	4551	2074	68.69%
Female	2928	1987	941	67.86%
Percentage ³²	30.65%	30.39%	31.21%	

Source: Statistics Norway (2004a).

The distribution pattern of female teachers across all levels of education in Norway doesn't differ much from that in other countries. The proportion of female teaching staffs decreases as the education level increases. In the year 2003, female teachers composed up to 70% of all teachers in primary and lower secondary school. This figure lowered to just below 46% in upper secondary schools and continued to decrease to only 30.65% in the university level (Statistics Norway, 2004b).

From the numbers and figures presented above, we can conclude that higher education in Norway, as in many other places in the world, is still a men's domain where female are underrepresented. While for teacher's positions in the lower educational level, particularly in primary and lower-secondary schools where teaching and student supporting are the main tasks for school teachers, the number of female teachers overcomes that of male teachers.

The contrast number between male and female undergraduate students is in a reverse situation compared with that of university teachers. According to Statistics Norway (2007b), in 2005/06 study year, women graduates took 20 273 degrees out of 32 744 graduates from Norway's universities and colleges, which is 62% in percentage compared with 38% of male graduates. Among the total graduates, females completed 65% of the undergraduate degrees and 54% of the postgraduate degrees. Nevertheless, the number of male students exceeded females in the doctoral level. Among 882 graduates from doctoral degrees, 357 are women, taking up 40.48 per cent.

³⁰ Includes only teachers at school who report to SST and STS

³¹ Full-time teachers in percentage of all teachers

³² Female teachers in percentage of all teachers

Students in HEIs in Norway also take on an imbalance look in distribution among disciplines. And the distribution pattern between genders changes dramatically from undergraduate level to the doctoral level, manifested in the increased proportion of male students in almost all disciplines. Figure 3.3 and 3.4 shows the distribution of male and female students among different disciplines in the undergraduate and doctoral level respectively.

From figure 3.3, we can see that in 2005-06 study year, the number of female student exceeded male in almost all disciplines except in natural science, vocational and technical subjects. Female students only accounted for 1/3 of the undergraduate degrees in such disciplines. As Statistics Norway pointed out (2007b), men continue to dominate tertiary degrees in natural sciences, vocational and technical subjects despite women's dominance in tertiary degrees. The number of female student preponderated over male student by 74.9% in humanities and arts; 162.11% in teacher's training and pedagogy; 60.26% in social sciences and law; 17.73% in business and administration; and 416.83% in disciplines related to health, welfare and sport.

The situation changed a lot in the doctoral level. The number of male graduates of doctoral degree exceeded that of woman in all disciplines except in teachers' training & pedagogy and health, welfare and sport. Even in these two areas of disciplines, the proportion of male students has increased rapidly. The percentage of female students exceeding male students has decreased from 162.11% to 87.5% in teacher training and pedagogy, and from 416.83% to 8.7% in subjects related to health, welfare and sport.

By comparing the distribution of male and female graduates among different disciplines between undergraduate and doctoral levels, we can conclude that fewer women had successfully progressed in higher education. Women drop out earlier than their male counterparts in pursuing higher academic degrees. Just like the same situations in China and America, it is possible for us to conclude that women are less prepared in academic progression. And this factor may contribute to the explanation why women teachers are much fewer than men in Norway's universities.

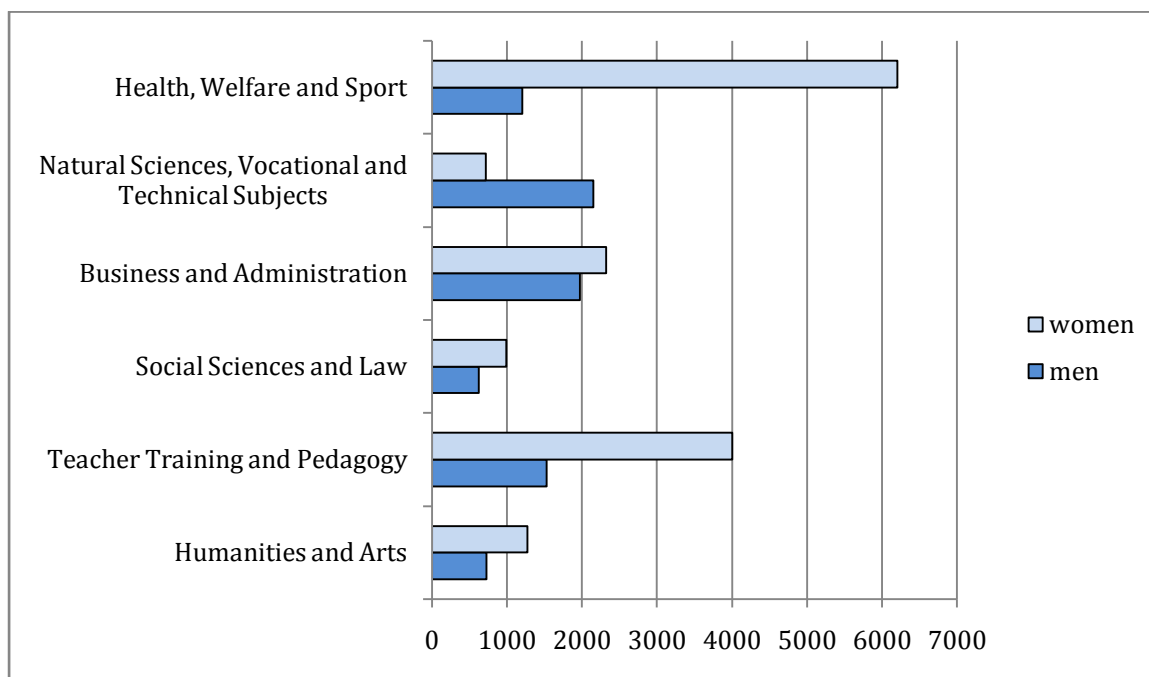


Figure 3.3: Graduates in Norway's universities in 2005-06 study year by gender and disciplines.

Source: Statistics Norway (2007c)

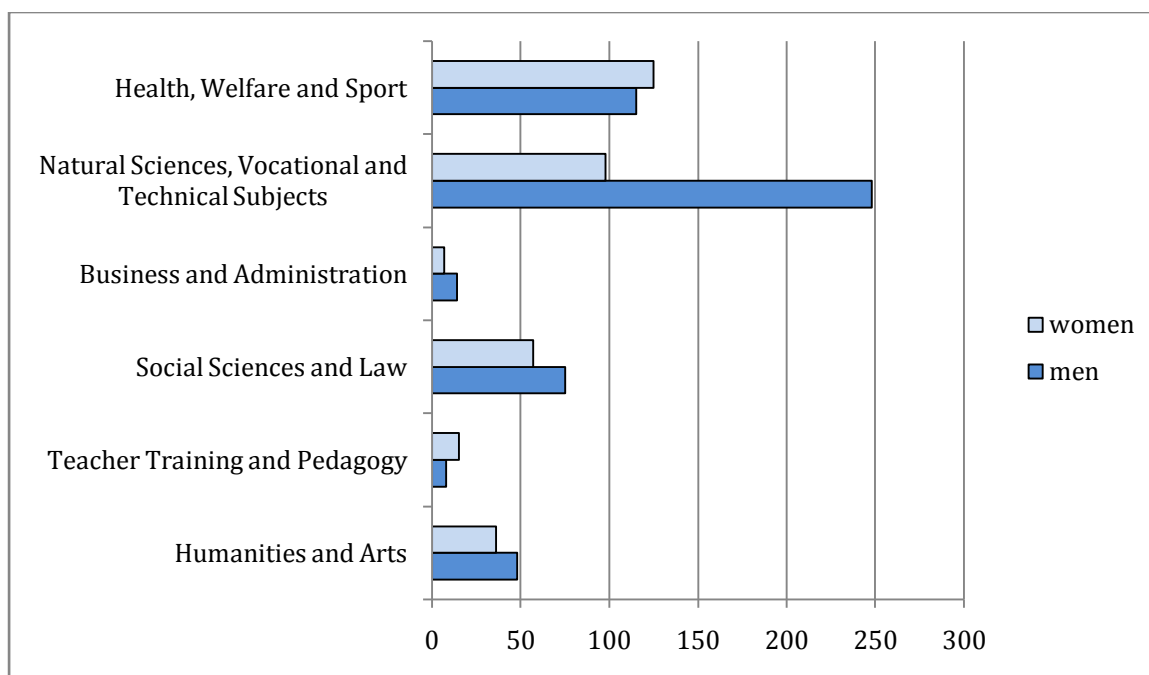


Figure 3.4: Graduates of doctor's degrees in Norway's universities in 2005-06 study year by gender and disciplines.

Source: Statistics Norway (2007d)

3.3. Comparisons among woman presidents/rectors in HEIs in China, Norway and the United States concerning their educational background

Detailed statistics on university presidents, full-time school teachers and female doctoral students in the three countries have been presented in chapter 2 and preceding part of this chapter. Following we would like to do a synthetic comparison among presidents in the three countries, concentrating on the demographic differences among university presidents, especially their academic background in terms of specific disciplines.

The comparisons drawn in this section can be seen as analysis of the possible factors that may contribute to the differences in women's status and participation in HEIs in the three countries.

Statistics on academic attainment of university presidents indicate that doctoral degree is becoming indispensable for university presidents. With higher education becoming more accessible for ordinary people, and with the higher demand for quality teaching and researching, people holding doctoral degree are more preferable for universities when recruiting teaching staff. And thus the advanced certificate becomes the first passport when entering teaching professions in universities.

Situations on academic training in terms of disciplines of the university presidents are more complex than their educational achievement. Differences, or we should say, varieties, overcome the sameness. Due to the limited number of comparable universities in Norway, information concerning the specific disciplines of presidents/rectors in European universities is applied instead here to analyze the sameness and differences among presidents/rectors from China, US and Norway in terms of different areas of their research interest. Table 3.4 shows the detailed information on the academic background of university presidents/rectors in US, Europe and China. And figure 3.5 shows more clearly the contrast among presidents in the three regions.

Table 3.4: Training in terms of specific disciplines of American college presidents, European university rectors, vice-chancellors, presidents and principals, and Chinese university presidents, expressed in percentage

Disciplines	Presidents, Rectors, Vice-Chancellors, Presidents		
	U.S.A. (%)	Principals Europe (%)	China (%)
Agriculture	0.6	1.7	2.5
Engineering ³³	1.8	15.0	30.9
Education	42.7	1.7	5.2
Humanities/Fine Arts ³⁴	16.2	10.5	21.5
Law	2.6	10.0	7.1
Medicine	2.4	12.0	9.2
Physical or Natural Science	7.3	26.5	15.1
Religion or Theology ³⁵	7.9	3.8	3.2
Other	6.2	6.3	5.4
	2105 replies	346 replies	

Sources: Wasser (2007a), and RUC (2007).

From figure 3.5, we can see that the US university presidents have the highest percentage in Education, and the absolute number of this percentage exceeds that of Europe and China to a large extent. Meanwhile, university presidents in US have the lowest percentage in engineering, law, medicine, and physical or natural science. But the differences in these categories are not as significant as that of education.

European rectors have the lowest percentage in education and humanities/fine arts and highest in law, medicine and physical or natural science. Our Chinese presidents are ranked highest in engineering and humanities/fine arts in percentage with the most notable in engineering.

³³ The percentage of Chinese university presidents in engineering is counted in equivalent to technology in the research of RUC.

³⁴ The percentage of Chinese university presidents in this category is counted as the total percentage of presidents trained in literature, economics and history.

³⁵ The percentage of Chinese university presidents in this category is counted in equivalent to philosophy in the research of RUC.

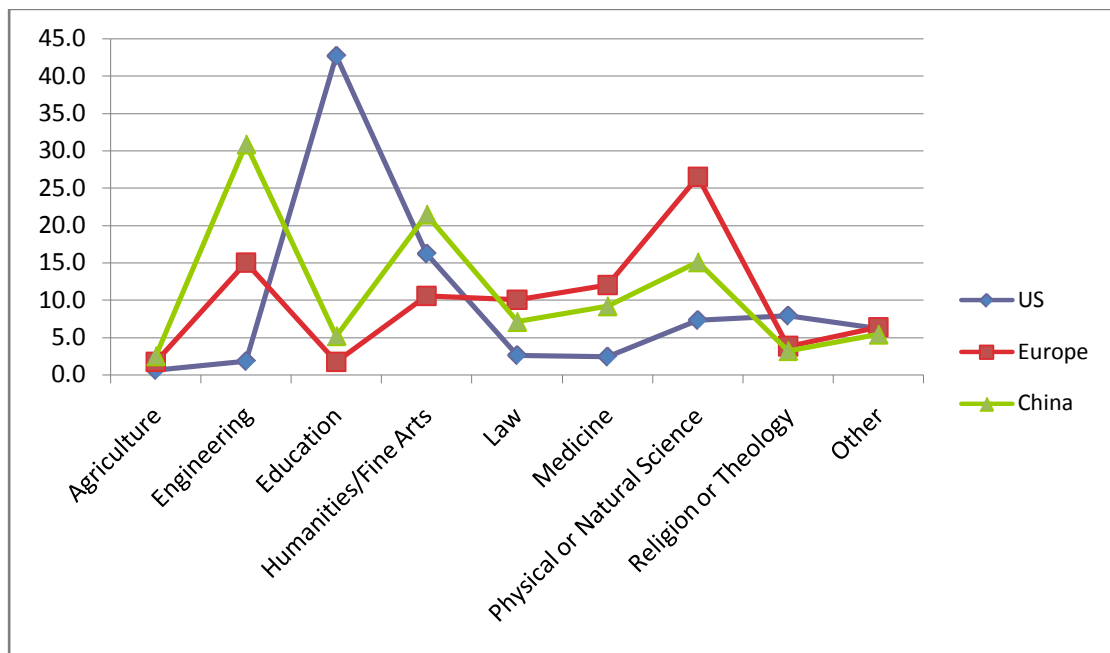


Figure 3.5: Contrasts on academic background among University Presidents/Rectors in US, Europe and China

Presidents/rectors from the three different regions have nearly the same percentage in agriculture, religion/theology and the “other”. And none of these three categories are among the “mainstream” disciplines, which mean that there are very few presidents/rectors who had their academic training in these three areas.

One prominent feature generated from figure 3.5 is that European rectors are in an opposite trend as their American counterparts, as long as the elective choices and different disciplines are concerned. Among the six “mainstream” disciplines, American presidents have the highest percentage in Education while European rectors get the lowest percentage. However, university rectors from Europe have the highest percentage in law, medicine, and physical or natural science with their American counterparts ranged lowest in these three disciplines among the three regions. A preliminary conclusion is that “European universities are more responsive to the changing social, economic and technical needs of post-industrial society than are American universities” (Wasser, 2007a: 26).

Another important feature that can be generated from the comparisons is that Chinese presidents usually rank “median” in percentage in disciplines such as education, law, medicine, and physical or natural science.

We are quite concerned on different disciplines which university presidents/rectors had their academic training in because in general, females show more interest in disciplines such

as education, humanities, and linguistics; but less interest in engineering and natural sciences. While the real situation is that the highest percentage occurs in physical and natural sciences among European rectors and in engineering among Chinese presidents. In this sense, the low percentage of female presidents in China and Europe can be explainable. Nevertheless, the American case is a little bit complicated. Females took up more than half of the positions in educational doctors and it is quite obvious that people have degrees in education are preferable as presidents in the US, but women's participation in presidency is still low in American universities.

To sum up, full gender equity is far from achieved in the three countries. But inequities are manifested in different ways.

3.4. Culture influence on women's participation in presidential leadership

Culture is an important factor in explaining different participatory rates of women in HEIs among the three countries. In this section, Hofstede's culture dimensions will be borrowed in analyzing culture influences.

Hofstede's division of culture dimension is the widely accepted and most popular theory in studying societal culture and its influences. In his theory, societal culture can be measured in five dimensions, namely the Power Distance Index (PDI), Individualism (IDV), Masculinity (MAS), Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), and Long-Term Orientation (LTO) (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Among the five dimensions, LTO is the last developed one based on Chinese Value Survey which concentrates mainly on Confucius value. We exclude LTO from our analysis here because in our opinion, this dimension relates too close to the traditional Asian culture and country scores collected on this dimension are not as comprehensive as on other four dimensions. Each of the other four dimensions is influencing women's participation in HEIs, directly or indirectly. Country scores of the three countries discussed in this chapter are listed in appendix (see table A-1).

3.4.1. Influence of Power structure

Power structure is a decisive factor in the way an organization is operating. One method to measure power structure is to use power distance index (PDI), which handles with

the way people deals with inequality in an organization or a society (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). A country score on PDI dimension indicates “dependence relationships” (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005) in that country.

American universities are highly decentralized while the opposite is just the case in China. Among Scandinavian countries, the degree of decentralization in handling educational activities in Norway is lower than that in Denmark; but recent studies show that Norway is moving toward decentralization while Denmark to centralization (Wasser, 2007b). Power distance in America and Norway is medium scored in Hofstede score of culture dimension, with slightly lower scores in Norway. Nevertheless, China scores quite high on this dimension, twice as much as the US, which, according to the definition, means that power is centralized in a few hands in Chinese society, so does in organizations. But what is interesting is that, this condition of inequality is accepted as cultural heritage rather than being forced upon people.

In a long power distance society such as China, leader’s power is widely acknowledged, and the organization is often hierarchically structured in which top leaders shoulder more responsibility in decision-making. And people usually think that skills, wealth, power, and status is not separable from each other (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). This is in accordance with the traditional image of Chinese women who are less educated, powerless, in lower status, and consequently not able enough to be president.

In short, the role of leaders is traditionally seen to be important and powerful in Chinese culture, which is in the contradiction with the stereotypical image of women. Furthermore, power inequality is esteemed as something natural, rather than unacceptable, as in Norway and US. So women’s low status and people’s disbelief to women’s ability in senior management positions in China are to some extent, consolidated by culture heritage. Although the same situation may also be true in the other two countries, but the degree may much slighter. As a result, fewer women may get the opportunity of being university president in China than in Norway and America.

3.4.2. Influence of collectivism/individualism

China is proud of her strong polymerization power of nationalities, which can be manifested in the fact that the interest of the family or group prevails that of individuals. In Hofstede’s culture dimensions, China is the so-called “collectivist” society (Hofstede &

Hofstede, 2005). The concept of “family” or “group” is quite strong in Chinese people’s perception, and loyalty lies at the center of collectivist tradition, and this tradition is still being valued today.

On the contrary, individualism is the prevailing value in American society. Actually, US scores highest in Hofstede’s dimension of collectivism/individualism (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Research shows that Americans work best when they are guided by individual goals, but Chinese are more efficient when the task is group oriented (Earley, 1989). It is quite obvious in the workplace settings where formal or informal groups are prevalent in Chinese organizations.

In a society with strong collectivism value, age norm are usually practiced, which, as have discussed in chapter 3, is among the barriers in women’s advancement in HEIs. This may partly explain why females are rarely seen as university presidents in China.

It is also notable that in collectivist societies, work is often organized with a group of people as the smallest unit. Cooperation, rather than competition, is being practiced. However, it is quite interesting for us to see that women are proved to be more apt to cooperation than men do. In this way, female’s way of leading should be preferable in management positions. And the number of female presidents should be larger than that of the status quo. Explanation to this dilemma may lies in that the relationship between gender and each culture dimension is not quite clear, just as what we will point out in the last part of this chapter. More work is needed to further consolidate our analysis.

3.4.3. Influence of masculine/feminine value in analyzing the selecting procedures for university presidents/rectors

Masculine/feminine dimension may be most directly linked to women’s participation in HEIs. This dimension refers to the role distribution between genders, and the distribution pattern of a society may have influence on a range of solutions. In feminine societies, virtues related to females are generally being valued. For example, the quality of nurturance and preservation are among the dominant values in these societies (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Besides, in feminine societies, people tend to use intuition and seek for consensus with others; and conflicts are usually resolved by compromise and negotiation (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005), which is a typical women’s way of leading. As a result, females are seen as capable as males in leadership positions.

Aside from the direct impact masculine/feminine values have on the proportion of female presidents, it also can function by influencing on searching and selecting procedures.

The president/rector searching and selecting procedure in America and Norway is much more open and democratic than that in China. Special searching committee and public advertising is indispensable in selecting new president/rector, while these are seriously missing in the president selection procedures in China.

One possible explanation to that open searching and selecting procedures may have influence on the status and participation of female university president/rector lies on a simple logic reasoning, which is based on meritocracy in which competency stands at the core. Actually, the so-called competency is in essence, the perceived competency of the candidate. In another word, women's participation in senior management positions is a dependent of people's attitude toward women's competency as university president.

Further more, people's attitude in general is a manifestation of societal value, which is embedded in the societal culture. Here, people's attitude toward women's competency can be explained using the masculine/feminine dimension of the societal culture. Since women's participation in senior management positions is a dependent of the masculine/feminine dimension of the societal culture, we may simply say that, given other things being equal, the stronger the feminine value is, the higher the women's participations are.

According to Hofstede score on feminine values of the societal culture, Norway is higher than the US, and US is higher than China. Putting into our reasoning above, women's participation in senior management positions is highest in Norway and lowest in China. Data on the percentage of female university presidents/rectors have proved our hypothesis. But the problem is, China only rated a little bit lower than America in feminine values, but much lower in women's participation in university presidency, which may probably indicate that factors other than perceived competency are influencing women's participation in China, and these factors may come from the opaque selecting procedure.

In short, the percentage of female presidents should have been higher if the searching and selecting procedure is more open and transparent. For Norway and the US, although we cannot say that president selection is absolutely fair, at least it shows people's efforts toward equality. And the high feminine value score may be contributive to the high participation of females in university presidency.

3.4.4. Influence of uncertainty avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance measures the degree of a society's tolerance to uncertainty and ambiguity. In societies score high in Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), rules and structures are expected, detailed plans are necessary for a project. While in societies with low UAI scores, long-term strategy is emphasized on organization's practices rather than on daily operation.

In this dimension, Norway scores slightly higher than America. But things are a little bit complicated because Hong Kong scores quite low – even lower than both Norway and America, while Taiwan scores quite high in this dimension. According to UAI definition and its manifestation in societal cultures, I would dare say that the average score of China in this dimension would probably lower than the other two countries participated in our comparisons.

This is in accordance with the president searching and selecting procedures in the three countries. In Norway and the US, president-searching procedures are clearly indicated in school regulations, but such prescriptions are missing in China when selecting university presidents.

How UAI affects women's participation in Chinese university presidency can be explained as follows: suppose the analysis based on a premise in the preceding part is true, then we can say that the societal value in UAI affects how university presidents are selected in China, and the very way presidents are selected is possible for masculine values to take advantage in this procedure. And the result of this long process turns to be the low percentage of female university presidents in Chinese HEIs.

3.5. Summary

Generally speaking, gender inequity in higher education is a global existence, being them doctoral student, full-time teachers, or leaders in senior positions. However, among the three countries that we have discussed throughout this chapter, the degree of gender equity in higher education, particularly in presidents' positions, is highest in Norway and lowest in China.

Hofstede's culture dimensions are useful in explaining country differences in women's participation in university presidency. It further proves that culture is contributive to the low percentage of female presidents in Chinese universities. And since culture heritage is usually seen as natural and acceptable, the facto discrimination against women in HEIs may not seen as obvious and unacceptable as in societies with different culture heritage.

Because of the limitation of time and energy, the analysis of culture as a contributive factor in the level of women's participation in senior management positions in HEIs is based on the premise that each culture dimension has something to do with participatory level of female staffs. Although such relationship can be built on reasoning, the premise has not been tested in the real world before using. A possible solution to this problem is to decide the relationship between each culture dimension and the participatory level of woman presidents/rectors by calculating Pearson's Correlation using Hofstede's country scores and the percentage of female president/rector in that country. However, data on the percentage of female president in different countries are difficult to collect. It is a pity for not being able to test the hypothesis by ourselves, but a perfection of the analysis in this section will no doubt needs further exploration on the relationships.

Certainly there are other factors contributing to the different participatory level of women in higher education administration. If the high rate of representation of women in Norwegian universities is mainly due to its feminine value orientation, then the differences between two masculine societies must have other explanations. One explanation that we would like to mention here is that gender issues have been acknowledged in American universities much earlier than that in China, and series of affirmative actions have been implemented to correct the problem. For example, effective mentorship, as will be discussed in later chapters, has been acknowledged as a critical factor in enhancing females' participation in senior administrative positions and in fostering effective leadership. So Americans outlined the mentoring requirements in their educational policies after their acknowledgement of the importance of effective mentoring (Reyes, 2006). However, gender inequality in higher education management has not been fully realized in China and policies have not been perfected to better protect women's rights. We would like to stop here now and will return to this problem in later chapters.

Chapter 4 Where Are Women Presidents in Universities? – An Analysis of Barriers and Obstacles that Prevent Women's Progression in Higher Education

It has been documented many places of the absence of women in top management despite their increased presence in corporations. The term “glass ceiling” is a widely used concept indicating a non-overt form of discrimination or covert criteria for women's advancement (UNESCO, 1998) that keep women in lower paid and lower status posts (Thompson, 2007). In a word, the term “glass ceilings” are used in this paper implying the hidden barriers and obstacles that are responsible for the underrepresentation of women in top university administration.

A number of researches have been conducted to explore the “glass ceiling” which hampers the progression of women in academic institutions (e.g., Luba, 1997; Dines, 1993; Barbezat & Hughes, 2005; Ozkanli & White, 2008) or female professionals in the society (e.g., Olarte, 2000; Eagly & Carli, 2003). Besides these individual works, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the only UN body with a mandate in higher education (UNESCO, 2005), also identified several principal barriers that prevent women from participating in the decision-making processes (Dines, 1993; UNESCO, 1998; 2002).

It is not surprisingly to see that the main barriers and obstacles preventing women's progression in higher education do not differ much in the documents across countries, despite that the political and social value system, as well as the economic conditions vary from country to country. This universality makes it possible to generalize regional practices from findings of the international community, regardless of country differences. However, it is also important for us to bear in mind that universality doesn't necessarily mean identicalness. Variations may exist in the degree of adversity even if the main type of barriers and obstacles being the same in different countries.

Factors contributing to the adverse situation of female faculties have also been noticed and generalized by some domestic scholars (e.g., Zhao, 2007; Yang, 2005; Zhang, 1997). The results are more or less the same as that in other countries. But in the case of China, culture

often stands out as a dominant factor in analyzing women's status in higher education (e.g., Zhao, 2007; Yang, 2005).

Barriers and obstacles that are most commonly seen in literatures include: discrimination against women for their special "feminine" attributes (e.g., UNESCO, 2002; Powney, 1997; Izraeli & Adler, 1994); dual responsibilities in women's family and career life (e.g., Dines, 1993; Pritchard, 2007; Priola, 2007); difficulties in entering the male-dominated culture (e.g., Priola, 2007; Zhao, 2007; UNESCO, 2002); inadequate support from policies and legislations (e.g., Dines, 1993; UNESCO, 2002; Landino, R. & Lynne, W. B., 1990); lack of supportive network and effective mentorship (e.g., Brown, 2005; McGivney, 1993); influences of Confucius culture (e.g., Zhao, 2007; Yang, 2005).

Chapter 2 provided a detailed profile of women in Chinese HEIs. According to the statistics presented, we can conclude that in general, women are underrepresented in all higher education sectors, especially in most advanced levels, including the doctoral study level, senior post level, full-time professor level, as well as president' position. In the research of Renmin University (2007), a typical university president usually has a doctoral degree and a senior professional title. Besides, he/she is most likely come from inside higher education system. If we see these three conditions as prerequisites of becoming a university president, then we can calculate the percentage of female faculties with both doctoral degree and senior professional title by multiplying the percentage of female faculties with a doctoral degree by the percentage of female faculties with a senior professional title. The result is actually the potential candidate pool of woman university president, supposing that the three prerequisite conditions we based our calculation on are correct.

Not surprisingly, the calculated result is in accordance with the research result of Renmin University, making it possible for us to assume that women are blocked in their way to the position of university president early in their career path. In other words, the absence of woman presidents in Chinese universities is mainly due to the short supply of qualified female candidates.

The primary task of this chapter is to discuss the main barriers and obstacles that prevent women from progression in higher education administration. In order to facilitate our discussion, we developed a career progression model for academic women, splitting the progression from undergraduate student to university president into three different phases. In

accordance, three critical incidents are identified from which main barriers and obstacles are generalized. A variety of literatures exploring this topic are carefully reviewed as important references to our discussion.

4.1. Preliminary discussion of factors that prevent women from advancement in academy and the development of the career progression model

The president stands at the top of the power pyramid in the hierarchical structure of university administration. In most circumstances, one cannot get to the top without gradual ascending process. Factors leading to the absence of female presidents in higher education do not only refer to barriers from the second level to the top level, but also obstacles among various levels from the bottom.

In order to see clearly the barriers and obstacles that keep Chinese women away from president appointment, we approximately divide the career path of woman academicians into three phases. By stating women's career path, we are mostly concerned with women's progression from student to president appointment, putting in the context of the main topic in this paper. The fact that gendered enrollment ratio to higher education is almost equal (according to the statistical data published by UIS, GER was 22% for boys and 21% for girls in China in the year 2006) makes us to set undergraduate level of study as the start point of the whole process of career progression.

The first phase that we have identified is the undergraduate level of study. The second phase is from postgraduate study to full-time professors, and the acquisition of senior title is also included in this phase. The last phase is from the qualified president candidate to the actual appointment. By comparing the calculated result of the percentage of potential woman presidents (3.02 per cent) with that in RUC's survey (4.5 per cent), we can possibly assume that women do not encounter many barriers in the third phase of their career path to the top. However, in-depth studies on this phase shall be undertaken before final conclusions are made.

We made the three-phase's categorization based on our perception to three critical incidents— or we may call turn points —that may have influence on women's career path. As a matter of fact, women's advancement in higher education begins before they actually get

employment in the system. The first incident that will influence women's career path is their decision to make further advancement in academe, or more concretely, their decision on whether to pursue a postgraduate degree, particularly at the doctoral level. Statistical data presented in chapter 2 shows that a doctor's degree is of significance in becoming a university president, especially in universities with good reputation. In this sense, advanced accomplishment in learning is crucial and will be beneficial for women in their progression in academy. The second turn point affecting women's career path is their decision whether to take employment inside higher education system. Certainly not only higher education, but also other industries need high-talented people. The economic benefits, social status of certain positions, personal interests, etc. will affect individual's choice in employment. In addition, the demand of the labor market in certain disciplines and the supply of qualified personnel in the disciplines will also influence the final deployment of female graduates. Finally, once women get employment inside higher education system, whether can they successfully obtain a full-time professor's position and a senior-level title is another turn point in their career path.

Given the three incidents we have identified and introduced above, it seems that the first two incidents seem are subjective, and reflect choices directed by individual willingness; while the last one takes on a look that various small factors, internal and external, subjective and objective, influence woman's career path by interactive effect. In practice, personal choices are reflections of various social-economic, cultural, or historical influences. So in essence, external factors may be more influential for women's progression path in higher education. And we could make a discovery of the barriers by analyzing factors that influence the three critical incidents.

We spend spaces for explaining the basis of analysis in this chapter. Figure 4.1 illustrates the career progression model we have developed.

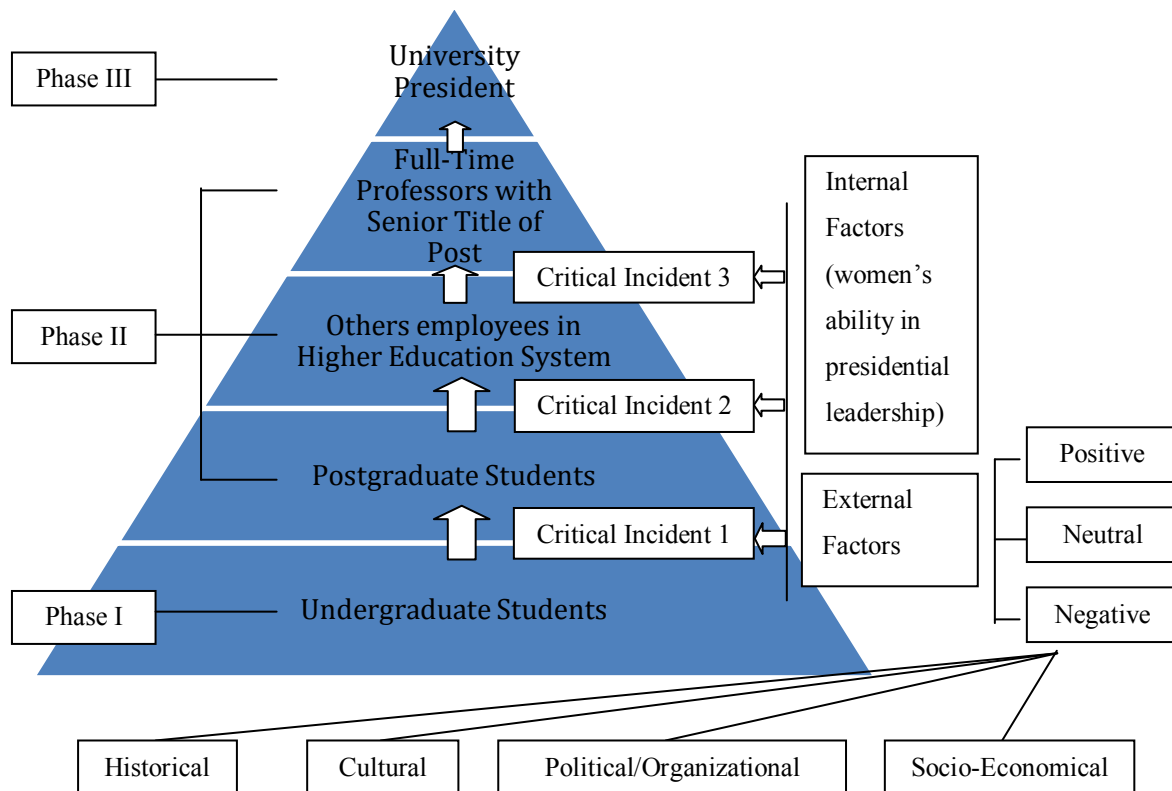


Figure 4.1: Career Progression Model for academic women in higher education

The upward arrows can be understood as the advancing process of university president. Differences among arrow sizes are for technical considerations and rather than logical implications. Arrows pointing to the left indicate that factors presented in the right columns are responsible for the incidents shown in the left columns. As we have suggested, subjective factors that seem to be highly personal such as self-confidence and motivation are sometimes reflections of the interactive effects of external factors on individuals. So the only influential factor possible to be identified as internal is women's ability of presidential leadership. However, influential factor by itself doesn't have implication on positivity or negativity. If women are as capable as men in presidential leadership, then the internal factor is positive and should facilitate women in their promotion. If women are proved to be incapable as university president, this factor is negative and thus will act as resistance to women's progression in higher education. Women's capability in presidential leadership will be fully examined in this thesis in chapter 5.

It is easier to distinguish positivity, negativity, and even neutrality among external factors. Among these three types of factors, we are mostly concerned with the negative factors because they are by definition called "barriers or obstacles", which are the primary objectives of this chapter.

4.2. Analysis of barriers and obstacles for Chinese women's progression in higher education

4.2.1. Four perspectives adopted

Four perspectives will be adopted for our analysis in this chapter, namely historical, cultural, political and socio-economical perspective. In essence, the four perspectives are the categorization of barriers and obstacles by their nature respectively. There is no need for us to explain what historical, cultural and socio-economical perspective is about because they are used on their basic meanings. Unlike the common understanding of “politics” which may calls for people’s imagination of civic government, the political perspective in our analysis indicates the analysis of structural barriers and obstacles within organizations, as well as policy inadequacy and inefficiency. However, we have to admit that this cannot be a distinct categorization of factors affecting women’s advancement in higher education. For example, historical and cultural perspectives are often intertwined because the culture concept is usually accompanied with terms like “tradition” or “transmission from generation to generation”, which are also linked to the common perception of history. In our opinion, culture is a manifestation of historical heritage. The difference between the two lies in that the cultural thing exists while the historical thing only existed. Besides, policies and some structural factors are influenced by culture. So the direct influence of politics sometimes can be seen as indirect influence of culture. By explaining this, we want the readers to understand that the categorization of barriers in this paper is not absolute and unchangeable. In the contrary, they can be categorized differently according to different purposes and understandings.

The basis for our categorization is the layered structure of the four perspectives, and the layered structure is based on the nature of the four perspectives. To our understanding, the historical thing existed so there is no way to change it. It forms the lowest while most special layer among the four. Among the other three types of factors, political ones are sometimes reflections of cultural and socio-economical factors, as we have explained earlier, and are the easiest to change so they lie on the top layer. Cultural and socio-economical factors lie in the middle because they are changeable compared with historical factors, but are difficult and slow to be changed, compared with political factors.

The layered structure of the four types of barriers has implications to our analysis on the solutions of the problem. Because political factors lie on the top layer so they are the most immediate and easiest to change. Thus we can begin corrections by dealing with this type of barriers. Historical factors cannot be altered but it is possible for us to figure out a way of decreasing or eliminating the effects of this type of barriers. And this is by essence, changes of cultural barriers. We believe that the most effective way to solve the problem is to start from the easiest part, then gradually proceed to harder ones.

4.2.2. Analyzing women's barriers and obstacles from a historical perspective

4.2.2.1. Gender inequity as a forgotten topic in the history of higher education

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century witnessed the emergence of contemporary HEIs in China. Unlike some European universities that may have their roots in medieval times, modern HEIs in China are merely newborn babies. Because the old educational system was completely different from the new established one, Chinese government almost had no experience on how to run HEIs. The first 50-year's development of HEIs based heavily on the transplantation of the way foreign universities are running. The administrative system, discipline and curriculum set up, as well as cost allocation mechanism was all established after universities in more developed countries, especially Japan, America and some European countries.

The development of higher education was interrupted by the Culture Revolution in the 1970s. However, higher education was revitalized after the Culture Revolution ended. Like a teenager entering his youth, higher education developed very fast during the past few decades, both physically and intelligently. After 30-year's development, today's higher education has developed more than ten times in its scale. The Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) increased from 0.402 million (NBSC, 2007) in to 5.99 million in 2008 (MoE, 2008b). The ability of academic teaching and researching, as well as the overall academic level and reputation of contemporary Chinese HEIs also increased greatly. Nevertheless, the over-fast growth of HEIs is problematic because such growth is not based on the accumulated experiences of running universities effectively, also because there is no time for researches on educational theory and on issues that came out with the development of HEIs. In other words, "practice precedes theory" characterizes the development of contemporary Chinese

universities. And this development is too fast that new problem shows before the old one intensified and attracted people's attention.

Gender inequity in higher education is among the problems that have been overlooked in the history of higher education development. Chapter 3 discussed female university presidents in America and Norway. And we can see that China has the lowest percentage of woman presidents in universities. Chapter 3 analyzed this difference mainly from the cultural perspective. However, it is also mentioned in the closing part that Americans have recognized the problem of gender inequity much earlier than we do. So they have much more advanced theories on gender issues, and much richer experience in practicing these theories.

Even though gender inequity in higher education is becoming a hot debate among the public in China, the focus lies on the equally gendered enrollment ratio. Some scholars began to notice and discuss gender inequity among faculties, but few paid attention to females in top administration. There are plenty of papers talking about the expected traits and necessary skills of university presidents, but even fewer talks about gendered differences in presidential leadership. In a word, the underrepresentation of females in top administration has been a neglected topic for a long time. Researches and practices are lagged far behind some other countries. The historical ignorance of women's role in presidential leadership still acts as a barrier in women's advancement in higher education.

4.2.2.2. Gender imbalance across disciplines

After the comparison among university presidents in China, America and Norway, an interesting phenomenon came into our notice that Chinese university presidents are clustered in STE fields (46%), while only a small percentage had their academic training in education (5.2%), philosophy (3.2%) or history (1.9%)³⁶.

Considering the average age of the presidents (52 years old), most of them should have had their post-secondary education in the late 1970s to early 1980s. This was the period that witnessed the end of the Cultural Revolution and the initiation of the reformation and opening up policy. In order to promote the rehabilitation of the national economy and to accelerate the development course of China's modernization, the basic guiding principle for

³⁶ Percentages listed in the parenthesis come from the research report of Renmin University. See details in chapter 2.

education was changed from emphasizing the political function of education to the overwhelmed idea that education should serve economic development (UNESCO & BJU, 2007). Science and technology were at the frontline of China's modernization in that it can promote development by contributing to the infrastructure construction, which was the focus of economic development at that time. The need for scientific talents and technical personnel greatly increased and motivated the central government giving priority to the development of science and technology institutions and emphasizing on cultivating high-qualified personnel in related areas. The enrollment ratio of students in engineering maintained the level of above 30% between 1978 and 1984 (UNESCO & BJU, 2007). However, during the same period, the bachelor's degree in engineering took a percentage between 4.5% and 7.8% of all bachelor's degrees conferred in America. The same figure was 13.5% and 14.5% in UK, 15.4% and 17.8% in Germany, and 19.2% and 20.3% in Japan (UNESCO & BJU, 2007).

However, women didn't stand out in the prosperous development of science and technology. It is noted and documented many places that women are underrepresented in STE disciplines (e.g., Xu, 2008; Frehill, 1997; Blickenstaff, 2005). The Project Report by UNESCO and BJU (2007) documented a questionnaire survey on China's engineering education among first-year college students. Results show that female students took up 28.8% of the total 2096 respondents.

So it is quite reasonable for us to refer women as minorities in STE disciplines. But the high percentage of university presidents trained in such fields seems to indicate that previous educational background in STE disciplines is preferable for becoming the president. No wonder women are so rare among university presidents in China.

Then it comes to the question that why do people with STE background are advantageous in competing for the posts of university presidents in China. Unfortunately, we didn't find any authoritative explanations to this question. To our presumption, this question owes its explanation to the problematic mechanisms of president searching and selecting, which will be further discussed as political barriers later in this chapter.

4.2.3. Analyzing women's barriers and obstacles from a cultural perspective

4.2.3.1. The masculine-oriented culture

Masculinity, as an indispensable dimension in Hofstede's culture theory, has profound impacts on women's status in China. Opposite to masculinity is femininity, which is characterized by more sameness than differences between the values of men and women (Hofstede, 2001). In societies where masculine value dominates, men are encouraged to be tough, assertive and ambitious while women to be tender and caring. Among these male values, assertiveness is found to be crucial in successfully climbing to the top of the hierarchical ladder (Cheung & Chan, 2007).

According to Hofstede's (2005) country score on culture dimensions, China ranks eleven among 68 countries and regions in masculinity. So it is reasonable for us to claim that Chinese society is oriented by strong masculine value. In fact, masculine value in China is reinforced by the remains of the feudal ideology, which views negatively of women's role in the society. The masculine value plus the feudal ideology embodies in the hierarchical structure of the society where men occupy top levels, the patriarchal system where men take primary responsibility for the whole family and the community, and in consequence, the low social status of women which requires compliance and adherence to men.

The extreme instance of the masculine value and feudal ideology sees women as a dependent human being rather than independent individual. Actually, the thought of women as affiliation to men was quite common in ancient China. For example, Confucian ritualism advocates "three obediences"³⁷ as moral standards for women. The three obediences include woman's obedience to her father before marriage, her husband when married, and her son in widowhood. In another words, these moral standards can be interpreted as women's compliance to men as daughters, wives and mothers. The valued behavior for women was to take care of the men in the family, and to obey the men when conflicts arose between men and women's interests.

Although most of the moral standards such as "three obediences" have been abandoned, the impacts persist in the society and cannot be removed in a day. Even in

³⁷ 三从 sān cóng.

today's society, Chinese women haven't been freed entirely from rigid family life. Because the importance of men's career overweight women's, most family work, which include housework, childcare, elder care, nursing family members, and spousal career support (Haas, 1999), are still assumed to be women's responsibility. The low status of women resulted from the masculine value has several negative influences on academic women's progression in their career path. The negativity mainly manifested in:

Main responsibility in child rearing. Today, more and more women are entering the labor market and the number of working mothers is increasing rapidly. However, joining the work force doesn't lead to women's relinquish of family responsibilities (Hensel, 1990). Research shows that mother's employment in the labor market has only small impact on the amount of time she spends on childcare (Walker, 1999). Some scholars explored professional women's work-family conflict by examining the nature of motherhood and casted doubt on the compatibility of maternity and women's career by arguing that "women experience intense feelings of guilt when they feel they are not adequately fulfilling their maternal role". But "on the other hand, they also experience frustration and guilt when they feel they are not spending enough time on their work" (Hensel, 1990: 4).

It might be true that women are willing to fulfill their maternal role in the family. But in our opinion, masculine value and the remains of feudal ideology acts as a more powerful factor in confining women to their traditional role of motherhood. The underline logic of this ideology seems to relate females' reproductive function naturally with child rearing responsibility. However, we can see no justification for such logic. Just as Olarte has pointed out in her article:

A culturally customary or historically prevalent behavior is not equivalent to biological determination. The concomitance of these two biological facts – pregnancy, which is biologically determined as feminine, and dependency on another human, which is nowhere biologically determined to be fulfilled only by women – has served through the ages to justify a patriarchal approach to societal organization. Women have been and still are the main caretakers of the dependant human being (the dependant human being indicates infant in the passage) (Olarte, 2000: 294-295).

Both pregnancy and child rearing are important responsibilities for a woman. The difference between the two is that the former one is unavoidable and casted by nature while the later one is posted intentionally. The ideal image for a woman in Confucian ritualism is a good daughter, wife, and mother, so does the social expectation. Nevertheless, this may

bring confusion to females who want to have a traditional family while pursuing their own career because child rearing, especially caring for young kids, is really a “time-, energy-, and emotion-consuming” (Acker, 1994: 126) task and greatest role strain usually comes to women with children in preschool years (Schnittger & Bird, 1990). Pregnancy may cause trouble to women’s career, but childcare causes bigger trouble because it lasts much longer and has greater influence on the early period of women’s career cycle.

Conflict between work and family pushes academic women to a dilemma. Choosing to have children may imply impediments in career advancement while choosing to have career may lead to the deprivation of the opportunity of being a good mother. Let’s do a simple calculation and see how the child rearing responsibility may influence women’s promotion to presidential leadership by influencing women’s decision in entering advanced level of study in higher education.

In the case of China, the normal age for entering schooleducation is between 6 and 7. After 6 years’ primary education and 6 years’ secondary, most people would enter college immediately after they entered the adulthood. A complete study period in HEIs includes 4-year’s study at bachelor’s level, 2-3 years’ at master’s and another 3 years at doctoral level. So a woman will probably be near her 30s when she earned the doctoral degree, supposing there are no interruptions to the continuity of her school education. However, no interruptions also mean no work experience, no steady income, and most likely, no solid economic foundation for family life. Woman doctors usually face difficult choices after graduation if they want both career and family life. On one hand, they need to give birth to her first baby in two to three years or they may miss their best time to do so. On the other hand, having a new baby will contradict with their career life because they will need much energy and commitment in getting a good start and settling down in the career life. The root of this dilemma, as suggested by Hochschild (1975), might lie in the different timing of women’s family and career cycles.

In short, the masculine value and remains of feudal ideology assumes on women greater responsibilities in child rearing. Unlike the reproductive function, child-rearing responsibility is not naturally posted so factitiously binding these two causes confusion and trouble for academic women who want to pursue their own career without sacrificing their opportunity of being a mother. Without supports from the society and the family, especially

partners, it is very difficult for women to conciliate the conflicts between work and family, and may lead to the early dropout of women in their career path.

Less spare time in the family. The fast development of global economy impelled changes in the traditional family structure and gave rise to a large amount of dual-career families by the influx of women into the labor market (Haas, 1999). This is no exception with the case of China (Walder, *et al.*, 2000). However, it also raises the issue of work-family conflict (Hansen, 1991). And women usually suffer more from the conflict because they are still assumed much responsibility in domestic chores besides their new responsibility at work.

Many studies have revealed that women around the world spend significantly more time than men in domestic chores (e.g., Oakley, 1985; Gaskell, *et al.*, 2004; Hammoud, 1993). National survey on women's status in 2000 (NBSC, 2004a) shows that more than 85% housework - including cooking, washing, and cleaning - are undertaken by wives. And females spend 2 hours more than men in domestic chores on average. The same figure has decreased only by 6 minutes from 1990. Responsibilities on domestic chores greatly limit the productivity of women in academic research. It is natural for us to get this conclusion because the more time women spend on household, the less time she can spend in reading and academic researching. Survey data gave support to our assertion by showing that women spend less time than men in studying and reading by 11 minutes and less spare time by 18 minutes per day (NBSC, 2004a).

This finding has negative influence on critical incident 3 because published articles are found to be critical to academic rank in higher education (e.g., Ferber and Green, 1982, cited in Seeborg, 1990; Messmer, 1990). Women's productivity in academy restricts the possibility of getting tenure and senior-level posts in the university, and thus hampers women's advancement to presidential leadership, as manifested in the career progression model.

More interruptions in career advancement. There are two types of interruptions that may be detrimental to women's professional life. The first one comes together with the child rearing responsibility. Some scholars have discussed the problems that many academic women may encounter when trying to combine motherhood with careers (Hensel, 1990). Hensel talked about this problem by paraphrasing this kind of difficulties discussed by Tillie Olsen, and wrote (Hensel, 1990: 3), "being a mother means being constantly interruptible and

continually responsive to the needs of someone else”, so “it is very difficult to develop the concentration necessary to write when one must be readily accessible to children”.

The other interruption noted by scholars is “women’s move after their husbands’ job” (Messmer, 1990). Because women are culturally supposed to be obedient and submissive to their husbands, they share more responsibilities in spousal career support, which means that it is women that make sacrifices when conflicts arose between men and women’s interest in the family. Compromise and negotiation as conflict resolution strategies are more often seen in feminine societies rather than high masculine societies (Hofstede, 1984, cited in Cheung & Chan, 2007). However, academic women are probably affected by such move because the professional ground and networks they have already built will probably get lost after the move. In China, the national survey of population flow shows that women take 88.9% among people who move for marriage in 2000 (NBSCa, 2004).

Difficulties in combining work and family, as well as interruptions in career progression greatly damage the continuation of women’s career development, and influence their acquirement of tenure and senior professional title.

Lower social expectation. As we have mentioned in our discussion pertaining women’s responsibility in child rearing, social expectations for women are not as high as that for men. Women are expected to perform normally, rather than excellently in the society. The normal performances expected for women indicate normal level of education, normal work and normal pay, as well as normal age for marriage and childbirth.

It is suggested that in high masculine societies, men are expected to success in their careers while women are not encouraged to show their ambitious in climbing up the hierarchical ladder (Cheung & Chan, 2007). In accordance with this finding, when asked whether mind that wife gets better job and better pay in the family, most men in China would give negative answers. So women with high academic degrees also face problems in marriage because in the ordinary Chinese family, husbands tend to be better educated and have better job. So woman doctors usually have to limit their choice of partners into a small group of people who have equivalent degrees or who don’t mind if their wives are better educated.

It consists for women another weight factor that needs to be considered when making decisions of pursuing more advanced level of study in higher education.

Lower participation in advanced level of higher education. Although female enrollment to tertiary education is almost equaled with that of male (UIS, 2008), few females are seen at the more advanced level of studies in higher education, especially the doctoral level. There are 9.4334 million undergraduate students in regular HEIs in 2007, of which 46.32% are women. And there are 0.8966 million graduate students and 46.36% of them are female. But women only take up 33.87% among 0.208 million doctoral students (MoE, 2007).

In the study of Hoi Yan Cheung and Alex W. H. Chan (2007), masculinity was found to be significantly negative related with tertiary female enrollment by statistical calculation. This finding can be interpreted as: female enrollment to tertiary education is lower in countries with higher masculine value. Our analysis in previous parts is also in support of this finding. The masculine value leads to the lower social expectation to females and poses them with greater responsibilities in child rearing. And both of these two factors have impact on the lower participation rate of females in doctoral study.

The five manifestations of barriers resulted from masculine value are mainly discussed at the societal level. However, masculine culture exists not only in the society, but also in the organizational level. The male-dominated culture in higher education was acknowledged and has been discussed by many scholars (e.g., Maitland, 1990; Acker, 1994; Miller, 1995). Acker (1994, cited in UNESCO, 2002: 31) said that “academia has been perceived as traditionally elitist, male and patriarchal in its workplace culture, structure and values.” And Maitland (1990: 246) noted that “the professoriate has long been a male-dominated profession, especially in the senior ranks”. Under such circumstances, a large number of academic women have experienced the negative feeling of being marginalized, especially to senior level of management (e.g., Acker, 1994; Maguire, 1993), and many of them found it’s hard to get emerged into the male culture.

In summary, masculine culture sometimes act as negative forces against women’s progression in higher education, both in the societal level and the organizational level. The situation may be worse in China where the remains of feudal ideology is still impacting the way people think and shaping the way people behave. However, the influence cannot be removed easily because culture thing is deeply embedded in the society. Fortunately, we still have methods to fight against the negative impact of culture, and solutions to the dilemma that many academic women are facing.

4.2.3.2. Strongly held age norms

The term “age norms” talks about the hierarchical structure based on age differences. It concerns with age-appropriate behaviors of individuals in a given context. As Neugarten, *et al.* (1965: 713) discussed in their article, “... age norms and age expectations operate in this society as a system of social control. For a great variety of behaviors, there is a span of years within which the occurrence of a given behavior occurs outside that span of years, it is regarded as inappropriate and is negatively sanctioned”. Actually, age norms are widely perceived within a society. And the practice of age norms is easy to be observed. Taking the example of China, the prevailing thinking that “seniorities decide priorities”³⁸ is a good manifestation of age norms.

Chinese culture values experiences and shows high respect to the elders. To our knowledge, the hidden rules of age norms practiced in ancient China originated from the virtue of respecting senior individuals. Unlike knowledge, which can be taught and transmitted among individuals, experience can be transformed to knowledge but cannot be reproduced and thus by essence belongs and only belongs to individuals who actually experienced. Besides, experience is usually helpful for people when making decisions, especially in the old times when knowledge is limited, and the systematic while effective way of knowledge transmission has not yet been formulated. In this sense, experience can be esteemed as capability, and it is reasonable to honor people who have much experience.

Time has changed. In this informational society, there are numerous ways for people to acquire knowledge. And the importance of direct experience in people’s lives has decreased. However, the practice of age norms persists. The hidden rules are misinterpreted in that seniorities are equalized with authorities and rightness. “Seniorities decide priorities” is being practiced widely in China under the excuse that respect to the elders being the traditional Chinese virtue. One of the manifestations of such practice, as Barbara Lawrence (1996) has pointed out, is that organizations usually have salient rules about appropriate ages for promotion. And these salient rules consist of another important barrier for women’s advancement in higher education.

³⁸ 论资排辈 lùn zī pái bèi.

We can sense the existence of age norms easily among our presidents. In chapter 2, we compared several demographic statistics about university presidents in different university categories (see table 2.3). Among these categories, universities in 985 Project are best ones in China. Next to them are universities in 211 Project, and then other universities³⁹. The average age of university presidents decreased along the three categories from 55.1, 54.9, to 51.9. It clearly shows that the better the university is, the older its president is.

Now we would like to take another angle to explore the implication behind this phenomenon. The three categories of universities are comparable to a three-level hierarchical structure with best universities stand at the top level. The truth that the average age of presidents ascends from the bottom to the top level within the hierarchical structure indicates that age has something to do with the acquirement of more important positions. Putting into the context of a single university, our finding implies that age plays a role in deciding the appropriate candidate for university president. To be more accurately, older people are more likely to be selected for presidents.

Some readers may think such findings arbitrary because the samples we used for making conclusions are too few. Actually we've done a similar survey through internet on the basic characteristics of university presidents in top 100 Chinese universities. Statistical analysis shows the same trend as that in RUC's survey. The survey was conducted between May and June in 2007, and age information on 99 university presidents was collected⁴⁰. In order to explore relationships between variables, we used SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) for statistical analysis. We input the actual number of presidents' age under the age variable. And we created a new variable, which is called university rank, by given each university a score from 1 to 99 according to their rank. The higher the university ranks, the higher it scores. For example, the top one university was given 99 as its points in university scoring. After inputting all the data into SPSS, we ran a linear regression test between the two variables. The SPSS output showed a positive correlation. And the relationship is significant at the 0.05 level. A model was thus derived from the statistical analysis: $\text{University Score} = 8.876 + 0.746 * \text{Age}$. This equation clearly indicated that better university has older president, thus confirmed our assertion that age plays a role in deciding

³⁹ Private universities are counted out in our discussion here because the president searching and selecting procedure in these universities is different from that in public universities.

⁴⁰ Two universities rank the same so the total number of universities is 101. The actual number of universities we collected data from is 99.

the appropriate candidate for university president. The existence of age norms in selecting university president is proved.

In organizations where strict age norms prevail, women are usually seen to be incongruous. The normal employment age prescribed in the Labor Law is 16-59 for men and 16-54 for women. Considering the average age (52 years old) of university presidents in RUC's survey, a woman is almost in her age of retirement when she is "senior" enough to be qualified for university president. And the average tenure for a president of 4.2 years makes a woman inappropriate for this position.

We admit that other conditions being equal, age usually helps in distinguishing people's capability. However, rigid stricture to age norms greatly hampers women's promotion in universities, and thus lowers the positivity of female faculty.

4.2.4. Analyzing women's barriers and obstacles from a political perspective

4.2.4.1. Problematic mechanism on recruitment

In our career progression model, the upward arrow that connects phase II and phase III leads us naturally to the question about the selection procedure of university president. And this is probably the most direct factor accountable for the small percentage of female presidents in Chinese universities.

In order to ensure justification, the searching and selection procedures for university presidents should be open and equitable. Besides, written policies and regulations should be available to guide the procedure. However, such procedure in Chinese universities is almost unseen by the public. In China, fixed-term appointment system is widely practiced among university presidents. Selections are performed in the same way as that of party leaders and executives. It means that university presidents in China are appointed directly by the higher authorities from the government. Universities in 985 Project are even under the direct lead of CPC (Communist Party of China) central committee. This is on one hand the influence of patriarchic tradition and the communist ideology of the Chinese society, on the other hand the result of the problematic mechanism of personnel recruitment in HEIs. The covert searching and selection procedure in the recruitment of senior administrators constitutes a serious structural barrier against women's promotion to the position of university president.

Full realization of equal opportunity employment and implementation of affirmative actions has not yet in place in Chinese HEIs, albeit they are essential and critical in increasing the representation of women in not only senior management positions, but also other types of positions in the university, like academic professions or technical personnel, taking for example. Thus the deficiencies in recruitment may also influence women entering HEIs and early period of their promotion.

We've already mentioned in our discussion of cultural barriers that Americans do much better in promoting equal opportunity employment and affirmative actions although the masculine value also dominates the societal culture like that in China. Now we would like to have a quick look at what our American counterparts do in managing human resource. And we hope that the following presentation would illustrate clearer what is expected in realizing equality in employment.

Policies on equal opportunity and affirmative action (EOAA) are quite common among American universities. Many universities have specific office dealing with EOAA-related issues such as policy implementation promotion and complain resolution. Policies guiding the procedure of appointment and promotion are explicitly prescribed and published to the public concerning different types of positions in the university. These policies set rules and regulations for almost every aspect of EOAA-related issues, including the appropriate and detailed procedure for new recruitment, how to complain and how to deal with complains concerning EOAA issues. The policies and regulations are operable in that even the minimum days are set for job posting, and samples letters are given for managing routine events. Besides, statistical reports on implementation of EOAA are also available in most universities⁴¹.

In summary, recruitment policies concerning equal employment and affirmative actions are yet to be seen in Chinese universities. The immature system of personnel appointment and promotion, especially the covert procedure of president searching and selection, greatly encumbers women's advancement, and is probably the most direct factor accountable for the underrepresentation of female presidents.

⁴¹ Statement in this paragraph is based on our own inquiry into EOAA policies posted on the websites of some American universities. E.g., the University of Columbia (www.columbia.edu), the University of California – Berkeley (www.berkeley.edu), and New York University (www.nyu.edu).

4.2.4.2. Lack of supportive network and effective mentorship

Supportive networks for academic women usually indicate positive feedbacks and encouragement women receive from their family, friends, and colleagues. The supportive network can be formal or informal, internal or external. It may take the form of a “women’s club” in the university where female faculty sharing the same interest in school administration meet together and help each other with problems in the career path. Besides, mentorship can be built in this process when senior woman faculty is willing to give instructions to young women in their way of promotion.

The impact of supportive network and effective mentorship for women’s progression in HEIs can be seen in many literatures documenting the observed gender barriers in organizations (e.g., Ledwith & Manfredi, 2000; Brown, 2000; Jenifer, 2005). Justus *et al.* (1987, cited in Maitland, 1990) noted that besides degree and commitment, academic career requires supports from influential people to get promoted into higher positions. In Ledwith and Manfredi’s (2000) interview of 22 senior women in an UK university, network was reported to be one of the main influences in helping women to take opportunities and develop their own careers. It is also suggested in their report that supports from close woman friends, mentors and other colleagues are important factors for women’s sustainment in HEIs. Mentoring from a feminist faculty member was identified as key factor for graduate school students in developing their feminist identity (Barata, *et al.*, 2005). Effective mentorship is also found to be one of the key areas that need to be improved to overcome barriers for women’s advancement (Brown, *et al.*, 2002), a critical socializing force for beginning administrators (Mullen, 2006), and an effective executive training technique in fostering female presidents (Jenifer, 2005) because mentors are the persons that provide guidance and supports for mentees in climbing the career ladder (Anderson & Ramey, 1990). Besides, good mentors are also role models that help women modelling their own style of leadership, a woman’s style rather than man’s.

Lack of supportive network and effective mentorship is a common barrier that academic women face worldwide (e.g., Brown, 2005; McGivney, 1993). Patton (1990) made the observation that women are not likely to be appointed or promoted at all levels of the organization. And they are encountering more barriers in entering a supportive network which may provide them with better mentoring relationships or work/research opportunities. Although the root of such barrier has something to do with the prevailing male culture in

higher education, it is possible to be removed. Supportive network for woman academicians can be built by fostering women's culture intentionally or by initiating professional development programs that can create opportunities for women to form the network.

The benefits of such programs began to show in countries where efforts are being put in promoting women's participation in university administration (e.g., Brown, 2005; Brown, 2000). However, reports on such programs are almost non-existent in China. Although special training programs for female cadres or entrepreneurs are on the rise, similar programs for female faculty in higher education are rarely seen. The International Forum of Female University Presidents (IFFUP) may be the most influential activity in promoting women's participation in higher education administration in China. We will come back to it in chapter 6. The point is, the current situation for academic women in China is that, supports from partners are usually weak as we have explained in the cultural perspective; supportive network outside the family has not in place yet and much more efforts are needed to change this situation.

Lack of supportive network and effective mentorship may affect all of the three critical incidents that we have identified at the beginning of this chapter because the absence of role models greatly discourages females from entering HEIs. In this way, women may feel isolated and neglected and thus may feel hard to sustain the difficult task in HEIs and to enter male-groups if they lack supports from their family, friends, colleagues, or mentors.

4.2.5. Analyzing women's barriers and obstacles from a socio-economical perspective

Socio-economical analysis of women's barriers in higher education is focused on the continued over-emphasis on science and technology. We have already talked about the influence that the over-emphasis on STE fields has on the underrepresentation of female presidents in Chinese universities. As a matter of fact, this historical preference for STE subjects still exists in China nowadays.

60 years after the founding of new China, the development should have settled to a steady pace. If the over-emphasis on STE subjects was understandable some 30 years ago, it no longer is. We've already witnessed the high enrollment ratio of students in STE fields in the late 1970s and early 1980s, now we are experiencing an even higher fever for these subjects.

According to UNESCO and BJU's (2007) report, the ratio of students in STE to all fields kept above 60% from 1985 to 2000, and reached its peak in 1999 when 81.5% of the bachelor's degrees were conferred to students in STE fields. The average ratio was around 71%, which over-mounted the same figure by twice than Japan, three times than Germany and eight times than America (UNESCO & BJU, 2007).

STE are becoming the favorite subjects for the public. However, this may not be a favorable situation for female students because STE fields traditionally are men's domains where females usually feel hard to enter (Xu, 2008). Just like the underrepresentation of women in senior management positions, the low percentage of female students and faculty in STE fields has also been discussed and explored by many scholars (e.g., Xu, 2008; Starobin & aanan, 2008; Wentling & Camacho, 2008; Blickenstaff, 2005). Structural barriers and obstacles do exist, but the absence of females in such subjects may also owe its explanation to the lack of interest of females. Females who reported little interest in science also tend to report higher interests in working with people rather than dealing with practical issues (UNESCO & BJU, 2007).

The over-emphasis in STE subjects may pose constraints on females' development in HEIs because it will limit the space for females in non-STE subjects, giving the condition that the total educational resources for STE and non-STE subjects are fixed. The limited resources and available positions in subjects that female students are better at may have negative influence on the first two critical incidents in women's career progression model.

4.3. Summary

"If there is anywhere that women professionals should be successful, it is in the universities" (Acker, 1994: 125). Universities, as part of the public sector, can be regarded as being attractive for women – with flexibility in working time, longer maternity leave, longer holidays, as well as work security. But "there are other aspects of the university as a work organization which may be particularly unattractive for women" (Fride, 1985: 88).

Given the status quo of employment in China, serving in higher education is by all means a good choice for females. Positions in universities, especially professoriate are highly respected in the society; the payment and welfare is quite nice in terms of the local living standard – actually, the average salary of university teachers is the highest among all

professions and trades in China (Zhou, 2006); the job is better secured compared with that in small private firms; and the flexible working time and two long vacations every year are more convenient especially for female staffs in balancing their time between work and family. Besides, universities, as other State owned, large-scale organizations, also do better in practicing policies and regulations that protect rights of female employees. However, aside from all these benefits that university can provide to its female staff, HEIs are still places that refrains women from entering and few women can successfully survive and get promoted. This chapter made a detailed discussion on the barriers that prevent women's career path to presidential leadership. The main barriers and obstacles we have discussed include:

- Historical neglect of women's role in presidential leadership.
- Gender disparity among disciplines and the over-emphasis on STE subjects of the country.
- The dominated masculine culture acting as a main barrier against women's promotion in HEIs.
- Strongly held age norms.
- The problematic mechanism in recruitment, especially the covert procedure for president searching and selection.
- Lack of supportive network and effective mentorship.
- Work-family conflicts posted on academic women in dual-career families.

As we have suggested at the beginning of this chapter, structural barriers are easiest to be removed while cultural influences may be harder to eliminate. So in connection with the seven barriers listed above, we can take initiatives in promoting women's equal opportunity in HEIs by correcting deficiencies in recruitment policies and building up networks for female academicians. Of course, there are some other measures that we can take to improve women's status in HEIs, and this will be the main topic of chapter 6.

The career progression model we developed in this chapter is just a preliminary and simple one, and the division of three phases in women's advancement to presidential leadership is rough. This model is developed to serve the specific aim and context of our discussion into the examination of women's status in Chinese universities, so the identification of three phases and three critical incidents was supposed to facilitate our analysis of women's barriers and obstacles in HEIs. As a matter of fact, theories on career

stage came into being as early as 1986, when Gene Dalton and Paul Thompson made their identification of four distinct stages sequencing individual's profession. The four stages in Gene and Paul's theory include apprentice, independent contributor, mentor, and sponsor (Reyes, 2006). In fact, Gene and Paul's categorization of career stages covers phases II and III, but exclude phase I in our career progression model. The stages of apprentice, independent contributor and mentor are included in phase II, while phase III corresponds the stage of sponsor in Gene and Paul's theory, which indicates the highest career stage "in which one influences the goals and direction of the organization through leadership" (Reyes, 2006: 104).

In the next chapter, we will turn our attention to the examination of women's capacity in presidential leadership, using results from a number of researches on gender differences. This will on one hand, examine the justification of women's equal rights in HEIs; on the other hand, help women to recognize clearer their strengths and build more confidence in competing with their male counterparts.

Chapter 5 Women Being the University Presidents – An Analysis of Their Competency in Presidential Leadership

So far we have drawn an integrated picture on academic women, and on female university presidents in particular. This picture profiles female scholars as a group who serve in higher educational system, both in China and in another two selected countries. By introducing this picture, we hope that the readers may have had a general idea of what they are and where they are in the hierarchical structure inside the system.

In the last chapter, we made a tentative discussion on the barriers and obstacles that academic women are encountering in their promotion to the top administrative positions like president. Following the logic of this paper that has been introduced in the opening chapter, we will now turn our attention to the issue of justification. In another word, the main task of this chapter is to find out whether it is legal and justifiable to have a low female representation in senior administrative positions. And we will try to find the answer by analyzing women's capability and degree of fitness for the position of university president.

Leadership effectiveness has long been an unsolved mystery. The most popular way in measuring leadership styles is by doing questionnaire survey on subordinates' self-perceptions about behavior patterns of their leaders in various aspects, such as decision making, interpersonal relations and management efficiency (Hoyle, 2006a). Gender is an important demographic variable and has been studied as an indicator to a number of issues relating to effective leadership. Most researches of this kind were conducted and aimed at leadership behaviors in the business organizations. In the study of Barbuto *et al.* (2007), gender was proved to have small effect on leadership behaviors. In another research by Lowe *et al.* (1996), women are more effective than men in transformational and transactional leadership, in view of the managerial experts. Another US scholar Alice Eagly (2007) also presented the same idea in one of her articles, saying that women are more likely than men to manifest leadership styles associated with effectiveness. There are also literatures documenting the relationship between gender and leadership in the context of school environment. And a number of such studies found out that gender has little or no effects on leadership effectiveness, and at least women are no inferiors to men in leading effectively (e.g., Cimperman, 1986; Young, 2004; Adams & Gamage, 2008). In short, multiple studies

on the relationship between leadership effectiveness and gender revealed that the later one couldn't be seen as dominant factor in deciding the former one (Hoyle, 2006b).

The analysis in this chapter will be drawn both from the societal level and the organizational level. The former one mainly relates to the issue of maternity and tenure; and the latter one will be conducted by analyzing presidents' responsibilities. Gendered differences in a variety of ways will also be discussed using the results from a large range of studies across disciplines. Now we will start our discussion by introducing the changing environment and new challenges to Chinese HEIs. This will also serve as the main backdrop of our analysis through out this chapter.

5.1. The new environment of higher education institutions in China – changes and challenges

In the past few decades, China is experiencing the fastest development that she has never had before. Two incidents stand at the most prominent positions when people try to analyze the impetus of the rapid changes in the society. The first one is the transition from planned economy to market economy; the other one is globalization. In a sense, they can be seen as two changing forces pointing at one single goal but functioning from two directions. The transition in the national economic pattern is the internal force for changing the society and the deepening of globalization acts as the external impetus.

China has made great achievements in advancing economic growth since the reform and opening-up policy being implemented 30 years ago. And the pace of economic development went faster after 1993 when government issued the decision of establishing a socialist market economy. It is suggested by some scholars that development in national economy usually cast greater demands on the development of higher education (Pretorius & Xue, 2003). This assertion manifested in China as the higher education reform implemented at the end of the last century. The reform began with the large expansion of enrollment to higher education. Then tuition fees were collected as additional source for school funding; the system of job assignment for graduates changed to free employment in the labor market; and private HEIs as well as other training programs got encouragement from the government and have been developing prosperously, bringing new competitions for traditional regular HEIs. All of those changes have posed great challenges to university management, and to university presidents who are the top administrators in school.

Globalization brought no less challenges than economic transition did. In this globalizing and partly globalized society, information symmetry and knowledge production is of significance for national competency. And universities shoulder great responsibility in these two aspects. The emergence of international cooperation and exchanging programs, as well as the usage of IT technology in higher education, are all measures in coping with the challenges posed by globalization.

Changes are inevitable for universities facing the challenges from both the domestic and the world. Nevertheless, universities by tradition are conservative entities. They bear the historical mission of knowledge production and transmission. In this sense, universities cannot be changed without any hesitation. Decisions on any big change concerning the day-by-day operation of universities have to be weighed carefully before carrying into practice.

This is a dilemma that being posed to university presidents in China. But just as the old saying goes, change to flourish and flourish to long last. Changes are necessary and challenges are inevitable. To flourish or to perish, this is to a large extent depended on the efficacy of university presidents. A qualified president can bring the university with a promising future and thus to better facilitate the development of the society. Among various factors that make a qualified university president, we are mostly concerned with one question in this paper – whether gender can function as a criterion in defining a qualified university president in China?

5.1.1. HEIs in today's society with market economy orientation

Four changes of significance driven by market economy have occurred to Chinese higher education in the past decade. As we have introduced earlier, they are the large-scale enrollment expansion started from 1999, the transition of funding system and graduates' employment form in higher education, and the competition from newly established private universities and training organizations.

5.1.1.1. Enrollment expansion to university studies

In the past, higher education in China was designed for “a few talented people”. There was a popular metaphor saying that university admission is an “iron rice bowl⁴²” which

⁴² 铁饭碗 (tiě fàn wǎn)

means that one will never have to worry about living problems once admitted to universities because “iron rice bowl” will never be broken. There were no tuition fees for attending universities, and students would be assigned jobs upon graduation. Planned economy was the prevailing form that the States organized national economic life. Private sectors hardly existed at that time.

Things have changed a lot with the fast development of national economy. Ten years after the commencement of opening-up policy and market economy, “elite education” cannot fulfill the needs of massive high quality labor forces. Industries in China are transforming from “labor-intensive” to “knowledge intensive”. Thus began the first enrollment expansion to university education in 1999.

The enrolment of regular HEIs in China rose from 0.402 million in 1978 after tenyears’ interruption to 5.46 million in 2006 (NBSC, 2007). During this period, a large expansion of enrollment to regular HEIs commenced in 1999 when 1.6 million new students were enrolled, and this number surpassed that of 1998 by 51,000 (Pretorius & Xue, 2003). The number of student enrollment kept increasing at a high speed in the followed years. In 2000, 2.21 million students were enrolled; and 5.05 million in 2005 (NBSC, 2007). This year, the planned enrollment reaches 5.99 million (MoE, 2008b).

According to the view of Martin Trow (1974), the development of higher education can be divided into 3 phases. His based his division on the gross enrollment. In his theory, the first phase in the development of higher education is elite education if the enrollment rate is less than 15%; the second phase is called mass higher education if the enrollment rate is between 15% and 50%; higher education achieves a universal level if the gross enrollment rate is more than 50%. The large-scale expansion of university enrollment reveals that higher education in China is transforming from “elite education” to “mass education”. According to the data provided by UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) (2008), the Gross Enrollment Ratios (GER) was 13% in 2002. However, this figure increased by 9% in the following four years, which means that 22% of the population in their tertiary age are in tertiary education by 2006 (UIS, 2008). This ratio reveals that China has entered “mass education” level, according to the categorization of Trow. During the process of transformation, the function of universities will be changed a lot despite the fundamental mission of universities remains stable. Consequently, the presidents’ responsibilities and work contents need to be adapted, to fit the new environment and the new demands of the society.

5.1.1.2. Changes in university funding system

During the time of planned economy, government is the only investor of higher education. Students admitted to universities do not only need to pay tuition fees, but also got monthly allowance for living expenses.

This caused big problems when higher education are transforming from “elite education” to “mass education”. The increasing number of new student entrants asked for a great amount of money invested on employing teaching staffs, building infrastructures, etc., and the aim of developing world-class universities also called for financial assistance from the government. Money became crucial. The shortage of funding seriously hampered the healthy development of universities. Under such circumstances, universities began to collect tuition fees based on the idea that higher education is non-compulsory education. And the school funding system is transitioning from singular government spending to the sharing of costs by the State, public/private organizations, schools, and individuals.

After twenty-year’s exploration, China has established a new funding system for higher education. Several channels are used simultaneously in raising money for higher education. These include state budgetary appropriations, education tax and tax reduction, tuition and other student fees, revenue from businesses run by universities according to law, endowments, foundations, sci-tech business revenue, bank loans and interest from savings (Zhou, 2006).

5.1.1.3. From job-assignment to free-employment

In the past, jobs were also planned for university graduates. Students were assigned specific positions upon graduation. This was applicable in the planned economy that the students are cultivated by the State for certain purposes, even for certain positions. Students who were admitted to universities were trained to be experts in each field, especially in disciplines that are fundamental to the industrialization and national security, such as science and technology. The reality showed that these people did become the core labor force and did enormous contribution to the development of the country.

But the system of job-assignment is no longer appropriate as higher education transforming to “mass education”, and as the planned economy transforming to market economy. Job-assignment system greatly jeopardized the enthusiasm of students. It cannot

function properly in deploying right people to the right place. While letting free choices between students and employers is much more appropriate to the rules of market economy, and will enhance the vigor of the labor market. The “iron rice bowl” has been cracked but the national economy is thus developed.

5.1.1.4. Competitions from newly established private institutions

Transitions from central planning to socialist market economy also give opportunities for private HEIs. The government has admitted and been working on promoting diverse forms of ownership. The Third National Education Work Conference held in 1999 called for simultaneous development of public and private schools with public schools in the mainstream.

Private HEIs are developing very fast in recent years, satisfying the need of advanced training for more people in the era of mass education. The number of private HEIs, including private colleges, independent colleges and schools assisting those preparing for higher education self-study examinations, has reached 97,000 in 2004, with 24.48 million attending students. Students attending private colleges made up 10 per cent of the country’s total number of college students (Zhou, 2006).

The prosperity of private HEIs provides diversified choices for those who want to pursue a higher degree beyond secondary education, posing new competitions for the traditional, public owned universities.

5.1.1.5. Challenges for university presidents

To sum up, universities at the time of planned economy mainly functioned as institutions for cultivating students with best performance and highest potential, and thus to better serve the construction of socialist country. University presidents at that time were mostly those who had faith in socialism and obeyed willingly the orders of the central government.

The transformation from “elite education” to “mass education” driven by market economy changes the task of higher education greatly. The basic idea on higher education has changed from “running school by government” to “running school by societal forces”.

Changes in basic ideas of running universities bring functional changes to university administration. Although challenges posed on HEIs in this new era are not necessarily demands for presidents directly, as the head of the top administrative level, president shoulder much responsibilities in dealing with those challenges. Given the four concrete changes we have talked above, presidents from today's public universities need to have strong abilities in long-term and short-term planning, favorable sense on managing financial issues of universities, keen understandings on the changing labor market, and insightful view of the way of enhancing university core competency.

So far we have discussed the challenges from internal impetus. One can see that none of these demands calls for a male president in specific. Then we will turn our attention to external challenges impelled by globalization, and see they have anything to do with presidents' sex.

5.1.2. Higher education in the era of globalization

If the past few centuries were tagged by industrial revolution, then the 21st century is characterized by globalization. With the informational revolution, people in different countries and regions are tightly connected by the new technology of modern communication. Knowledge transmission and information spreading is going at the speed that was never seen before. Knowledge is becoming the most powerful weapon in defending national competitiveness. Globalization provides many countries with a good opportunity for development. Meanwhile, it brings forward new challenges to national development strategy. So whether a country can survive in the fierce international competition depend heavily on the strategies the country adopted for dealing with the opportunities and challenges brought by globalization.

Higher education stands in the forefront of this ongoing revolution because of its historical mission of knowledge production and transmission. The quality of higher education system becomes the core competency of a country and is vital for national economy.

Globalization not only brings challenges to higher education in a general sense, but also concrete changes on campuses. The most notable changes that globalization has brought to Chinese universities are the diversifying student body manifested in the increasing proportion of ethnic minority students and foreign students; the increased frequency of

scholar/student exchanges and formal/informal communications among universities – both domestically and internationally; the heating public interest on distant education; as well as the greater zeal in in-job training programs such as MBA and MPA. All of these changes have posed challenges and new demands on university management, especially presidents.

5.1.2.1. Changes in student body

According to the statistics yearbook (NBSC, 2005), in the year 2005, 60904 international students were newly enrolled in Chinese regular HEIs, and the total enrollment came to 78,323. The newly enrolled students took up 77.76% of the whole foreign student body. The newest data is 195,503 in 2007, increasing by 20.17% compared with that of 2006. These students come from 188 countries all over the world (MoE, 2008c). At the mean time, the number of Chinese students studying abroad has increased from 860 in 1978 to 118515 in 2005.

The number of ethnic minority students was also on the rise. In 1997, there are 216.8 thousand minority students in regular HEIs, which take 6.83% of the total number of students in regular HEIs (MoE, 1997). The same figure was 409.7 thousands in 2001 (MoE, 2001).

The diversifying student body brings exotic customs and cultures and refreshes the academic climate which used to be under a unitary Confucius culture. It also helps in building world-class universities. Ethnic minority or foreign students graduating from Chinese universities contributed a lot to the construction of minority-inhabited areas and Chinese-Foreign relationships. Foreign students in particular, often act as a positive role in promoting exchanges and cooperation between China and their home countries after graduation, which in turn, facilitate the process of China's modernization and internationalization.

Changes in student body bring new demands for Chinese university presidents. First, it requires the university presidents to be more skillful in dealing with relationships among people from different background, more open to dialogue and free communication, more tolerant to different customs and show more respect to different cultures. Second, the increasing number of foreign students asks for a more advanced and comprehensive system in administration and on/off-campus services, reflecting on one hand, more university autonomies in student affairs relating to foreign students and on the other hand, a

standardized national administrative system for foreigners pursuing studies in Chinese universities. Thirdly, changes in student body bring new challenges on financial management. Modern teaching and living facilities need to be built to accommodate ethnic minority and foreign students; on-campus logistics services also need to be improved and enriched; scholarships or government granting shall be distributed in an optimized way; and financial resources from various countries need to be introduced using active connections with foreign students. Last but not the least, featured curriculum needs to be developed and some courses need to be redesigned to satisfy the need of non-Han nationality Chinese students.

5.1.2.2. The rising international cooperation and exchanges in higher education

In the century of globalization, universities are not longer separate entities. They are connected with each other forming a network in a broader sense. The importance of learning from different cultures has being recognized, and thus promoted all kinds of exchange programs between different universities all over the world. The experience of studying, teaching or researching in another university is beneficial not only for individuals, but also universities themselves. Chinese government has put high priority in promoting international cooperation and exchange, as Zhou has pointed out in his book:

After China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), the government is actively honoring its commitment to reduce tariff-barriers on trade in education services on a WTO list and is opening its doors still wider to exchanges with the world community. ... China is committed to cooperation and exchanges in education with other governments, among universities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). ... The Ministry of Education provides the overall planning, administration, coordination, and guidance for such cooperation and exchanges throughout the country. The education administrative departments of local governments are empowered to manage local programs on international cooperation and exchange in education. Universities have offices that handle such affairs. ... Following these guidelines, the country has fostered cooperative and exchange relationships with over 170 countries and regions and signed more than 100 agreements and executive plans for bilateral or multilateral exchange in education. (Zhou, 2006: 247-248)

International cooperation and exchanges take many forms in higher education, including short-term student exchanging programs, dispatching students abroad and accepting international students, inviting foreign experts to teach or conduct seminars in Chinese universities, increasing China's participation in regional or international conferences

which can provide a favorable platform for exchanging ideas and experience among various HEIs, and programs running in cooperation with foreign partners.

These cooperation and exchange programs have developed greatly during recent years. For example, many famous universities like Peking University and Fudan University have each maintained exchanging ties with hundreds of overseas universities and sending or receiving thousands of students every year; the Ministry of Education has actively participated works of many international organizations, such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) and UNDP (United Nations Development Program) and sent delegations to international conferences; universities in China have hired some 70,000 foreign experts since the implementation of opening-up policy; financial plans have been made out to invite world-class scholars on short-term lecture tours; and there were more than 270 Sino-foreign cooperative schools and programs by the end of 2003.

In order to catch up with the high speed of knowledge updating and not to be isolated from the academic circle, today's universities need to be more open-minded and positive in participating various international cooperation and exchange activities. It requires the university presidents to be more tolerant to cultural clashes, more visionary to make long-term school development strategies, and better at communication and language skills.

5.1.2.3. Traditional universities with distant education

With the development of new technology in modern communication, internet and wireless equipments are entering people's daily life. The use of modern communication technology brought people with more conveniences and largely enhanced the performance of HEIs. The usage of ICT (Internet and Commuter Technology) has brought school management to a new era, but at the same time, caused many problems, such as the conferring of academic degrees and controlling of teaching quality of on-line programs.

Distant education, particularly the computer-based internet education is developing very fast. Other forms of distant education such as radio and television universities and correspondence universities also attract many people recently. The diversifying ways of higher education can be seen as a response to the transformation from "elite education" to "massive education" that we have discussed before, or as responses to the newly emanated concept of "life-long learning". In 2005, the total number of students enrolled in the internet-

based courses was 2,652,679 and 45,698 students were participating radio and television programs (NBSC, 2005).

In this trend of distance education, many universities have opened and conducted on-line classes for those who have troubles in attending ordinary classroom activities or those who are not qualified enough to be accepted as ordinary students because on-line programs often have lower academic requirements upon entrance. By conducting on-line programs, universities can widen their student resources as well as financial resources.

New requirements are brought for university management. For instance, universities still need to focus on ordinary teaching and researching activities despite the favorable financial benefits from on-line programs. Teaching qualities need to be guaranteed for on-line programs. Supportive service system needs to be established and technical personnel need to be hired for technical problems. Besides, on-line programs mainly lead to technical degrees so the curriculum development and degree conferring needs to be strictly administered.

5.1.2.4. Training programs for employees

If distant education were designed mainly for those who are not qualified enough for regular undergraduate or post-graduate studies or those who are not able to participate in person because of time or place restrictions, then in-job training programs are mainly designed for those with favorable educational background but who want to “charge” themselves with more knowledge and skills to enhance their competency. To satisfy the needs of such kind of people, many HEIs have launched various programs on in-job training, and some of these programs lead to a master or doctor degree. Most programs provide training in some popular areas such as business administration, finance, or English language.

254672 people participated in certain form of in-job training programs leading to a master or doctor degrees in 2005, and 1549563 people took part in the in-service training programs. In the same year, the number of students enrolled in the regular post-graduate programs was 978610 and the same figure was 15617767 at the undergraduate level. Along with the spread of the concept of life-long learning, and the severe competition in the job, more and more people are concerned with self-development. The increasing number of such institutions and people participating in such programs show the huge potential of the training program market.

Universities holding a good reputation in knowledge production and transmission are undoubtedly favored by the newly-emerged market. On one hand, such programs can benefit those employees who want to renew their knowledge or learn new skills; on the other hand, they can bring considerable revenue to school finance since most of these programs are highly charged.

Nevertheless, the main target groups that university serves are students enrolled in regular undergraduate or post-graduate programs. And the number of teachers available in a certain period of time is limited. So how to balance the distribution of human resources between regular programs and other kind of programs is a challenge that is being posed to university presidents. In-job training programs may be beneficial for university finance while improving the quality of regular programs is the fundamental task of university management. In another word, the problem posed in front of university presidents can be described as how to allocate more financial resources while maintaining, and improving the total quality of teaching/learning practices of the university.

The solving of this problem requires university presidents having strong ability in finance management and budget planning and, as we have talked in the former section, teaching quality, curriculum development, degree deferring are among the issues that presidents need to think about.

5.2. Career and family – are they compatible for woman university presidents?

It is a gloomy picture in which women are over-burdened by dual-responsibilities, both in domestic and career life. And no matter how great women have achieved in their job, they are still seen to be the ones that are most responsible for taking care of the family members and dealing with other domestic chores.

Nevertheless, things are getting better now. Although women's role in the society is still emphasized on domestic affairs, data clearly show that career women count for more and more percentage in the labor market. Despite many barriers that we have talked about in previous chapters, women are still positively seeking their positions in higher education. Just as some scholars have noticed, in many circumstances, today's problem is not whether women can take care of the family while undertaking a position in HEIs, but how they can

manage to do both well (Yogev, 1982; Perum & Bielby, 1981, cited in Walker & Kuk, 1990).

Actually, taking up an occupation in HEIs is to some extent beneficial for women in China. Seen from chapter 4, one of the most important factors that violates women's promotion in career life is that women are seen to be more responsible than men in domestic affairs, particular in child-rearing. However, the characteristics of work in HEIs include flexible working time, autonomous work content and long holidays during summer and winter, which is obviously attractive for women because they can have more control over their time so as to better balance their work and chores at home. As Hensel (1990: 4) had pointed out, "an academic career ought to lend itself to combining motherhood and work". In such circumstances, women working in HEIs would benefit more than those in other professions.

Child-rearing consumes a large amount of time and energy for career women. But it mostly happens at an early stage of the life cycle, at around 25 to 35. Research evidence showed that women feel greatest role strain when they have preschool years children; women in life cycle stage 4 (the oldest child in the family is between 13 to 18 years) express a desire to spend more time with children even if the newly grown-up may dissatisfied with active parental careers; and women in life cycle stage 5 (family with the oldest child over 18 who no longer live at home) are relieved from domestic affairs since their children have fully grown up and they may probably established in their own professions (Schnittger & Bird, 1990). So if women can get over the difficulties at the first few years, then the rest of their career path will be much easier to go through. Considering the average age of university presidents in China, a female president is quite likely to be in her life cycle stage 5 and not likely to be overwhelmed by domestic affairs. As a matter of fact, most people in their 50s will have their children fully grown up. So practically speaking, woman should not be rejected as university president in the excuse of their responsibilities in domestic affairs may distract them from effective school management.

5.3. Women's style Vs men's style

Plenty of researches have been conducted comparing the differences between the opposite sexes, including researches in the realm of modern scientific management, social psychology, and socio-linguistics. Some of our stereotypes on women have been testified in

certain contexts while most are proved to be merely stereotypes. Intuitively, men and women cannot be identical in personality and behavioral mode. So it is. But the existed differences between genders may not reach the significant level statistically. Even they do, existed differences do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that one sex surpasses the other. Advantages and disadvantages are mutually transformational. It depends on the specific context that defines good or better.

The severe shortage of female university presidents in China indicates the general discrimination against women, and the prevailing distrust on women's capability as university president compared with their male counterparts. It indirectly shows people's attitude of disbelief and the reluctant to accept women's style in school management.

Here, "women's style in management" is used despite recent criticisms claiming that the presupposition of a distinct "women's way of leading" seriously underestimate the diversity among men and women (Collard & Reynolds, 2005). It is quite true that we can see from the presentation of some scientific management researches and socio-linguistic studies in the following discussions. Many differences between men and women are proved to be not significant at the .05 level statistically. But the use of "women's style" in this section is not in an absolute sense. It only refers to the "women's way of behaving" rather than emphasizing the differences between two genders. Here "women's way" may differ with or identical to that of men, and the differences may be big or small. The basic thinking of this section is to prove that women are not inferior to men in their leadership potentials by presenting a number of studies in socio-linguistics, socio-psychology, and scientific management.

5.3.1. Women's style in verbal communication

Proficient in communication skills is the key to successful leadership, not only in business enterprises, but also educational institutions. Many researches show that women tend to express their feelings or ideas in a different way compared with men, and the differences are proved to be both statistically significant and theoretically meaningful (see, e.g., Case, 1990; Mulac & Bradac, 1995). The results fit in different settings, including a small dual-sex interactive group, larger business organizations, or experimental environment.

For example, in the small mixed-sexes interactive group, women in general tend to speak "in a way that was more relative, more descriptive, more indirect, and more structured

by the desire to include others in the solicitation of ideas rather than to assert their own ideas” (Case, 1990: 110). Putting into the university environment, presidents may often need to speak in such small dual-sexes groups so as to making decisions or school development plans. And women’s way of communicating may seem to be more democratic in that women are willing to listen to other’s ideas and are propitious to form the agreeable atmosphere by using *circumbendibus*.

The stereotypical men’s language is powerful, directive, and unchallengeable. These features are coincident with the traditional image of university presidents. Indeed, research shows that women are “softer” in speech. But “softer” doesn’t necessarily mean indecisive in leadership positions. As a matter of fact, “women’s speech has strengths that men might benefit from sharing and that women might benefit from valuing” (Aries, 1976; Kalcik, 1975; Goodwin, 1980; Thorne, Kramarae, & Henley, 1983, cited in Case, 1990: 110).

In addition, women’s language proves to be featured in empowering others (Case, 1990), which is now being emphasized and widely practiced in many kinds of organizations. Cooperation with colleagues and empowerment of subordinates are seen to be compatible with today’s leadership activities.

Some researchers suggest that the way women use language reflects their position of low power compared to men. This assertion is known as the “power-discrepancy hypothesis”. But this hypothesis is oppugned by some other scholars claiming that the linguistic differences are mostly as a result of differences in socialization rather than that in power.

For example, in order to find out whether women’s language is attributable to their low position in power distribution, Mulac & Bradac (1995) conducted a research in the context of problem-solving interactions. The research findings are contradict to the “power-discrepancy hypothesis” in that women scored higher in socio-intellectual status and aesthetic quality, and slightly lower in dynamism which is related with direct power⁴³ – the statistical result of the multivariate analysis of variance of the psychological ratings of

⁴³ There are two types of impressions of power: direct and indirect. Study shows a positive relationship between judgments of power and dynamism, which is the direct inference about a individual’s position in authority or ability of exerting influence on other people (Bradac & Mulac, 1984). And the judgment of Socio-intellectual status and aesthetic quality is indirect inference regarding power (Mulac & Bradac, 1995).

interactants in SDAS⁴⁴ (Speech Dialect Attitudinal Scale) dimensions. The dimension of socio-intellectual is seen to be highly related to power because people in high status are relatively more likely to exert influence over others (Bradac & Street, 1989/1990); and the dimension of aesthetic quality is associated with effective leadership (Bales, 1950). In addition, the research found that neither men nor women changed their way of using language toward the opposite-sex while it is hypothesized that people in lower position are more likely to converge their language toward people in the higher position.

The research presented above clearly showed that women are esteemed to be powerful through the language styles they adopted in problem solving interactions. Just as pointed out in the article, what they've found in the study "can only be viewed as failing to support the hypothesis that the differences in men's and women's language are explained by differences in their social power and their intent to exercise that power" (Mulac & Bradac, 1995: 101).

Here I would like to quote a few words from Case (1990: 110) that "based on current organizational realities such as increasingly multicultural organizations, competition, goal variety, and the heavy legal context in which universities must operate, it is very plausible that features of women's speech (indirection, mitigation of criticism, solicitation of others' ideas) are useful organizational functions".

So far we have discussed the female way of verbal communication in the organization. Now we turn to the non-verbal and immediacy communication regarding gender differences.

5.3.2. Non-verbal communication styles of the females

Verbal communication is very important straightforward in conveying ideas. It may be improvised, or planned. But most of the time, people giving the speech are aware of what they are saying. Non-verbal communication is also important in expressing feelings, ideas, or helping in better information conveyance. Non-verbal communication, or immediacy communication can only happens and ever-present in face-to-face interactions. It is usually embodied in facial expressions, body touch, even the distances between people who are talking to each other, or the frequency of interruptions to other's conversations. Non-verbal

⁴⁴ SDAS is a 12-item semantic differential used for establishing the Gender-Linked Language Effect in a variety of communication context.

communication can be planned and practiced, but in many circumstances, non-verbal communication is sub-conscious behaviors.

Immediacy cues in communication are often cited as gender-related behaviors and helps in conveying messages of dominance and power (Henley, 1995). That's why we present some socio-linguistic studies here, trying to prove that women are as capable as men in exhibiting dominance and excising power, only in a different aspect.

There are abundant evidences in literature documenting the differences between men and women in their non-verbal communications (Burgoon & Dillman, 1995). Actually, the differences attributed to men and women may partly result from the culturally defined gender role expectations. And some recent studies suggest that gender differences in non-verbal communication may be over-exaggerated (e.g., Coker & Burgoon, 1987; Canary & Hause, 1993; Burgoon & Dillman, 1995). For example, the study conducted by Burgoon and Dillman (1995) showed no valid evidences in the differences between men and women in immediacy communication, and many non-verbal behaviors which have consensual meanings among researchers were exhibited in communicators despite their gender. That is to say, the non-verbal behaviors exhibited by men and women showed no significant differences in conveying messages of dominance and power. The study also revealed that the change of distance had little impact on the perception of dominance for male communicators while women were perceived to be more dominant when adopting a non-normative distances.

This study, in addition to other related ones, broke the stereotypical image of females being more submissive, affiliative and supportive compared with their male counterparts. Women are as capable as men in conveying messages of dominance and power through immediacy behaviors. And this trait is consistent with the traditional image of university presidents being dominant in exercising power.

5.3.3. Women's style in leadership skills

Gender is the most often used independent variable among all demographic traits when leadership is studied. Numerous researches have been conducted studying gender's effect in differentiating various leadership skills, such as decision-making (e.g. Ganzel, 1999; Radecki & Jaccard, 1996), conflict management (e.g. Chusmir & Mills, 1989; Duane, 1989; Sorenson, *et al.*, 1995), work participation (e.g. Itzhaky & York, 2000). Actually,

communication styles as we have discussed in the preceding sector can also be seen as leadership skills.

Evidences show no significant differences on leadership behaviors based on gender (e.g., Bass & Stogdill, 1990; Van Engen, *et al.*, 2001). A research based on self-reported data on conflict management showed that many behaviors in conflict interactions are shared by two sexes rather than distinguished one sex from the other (Kelley *et al.*, 1978). And Gayle-Hackett (1986, cited in Cupach & Canary, 1995) concluded further in her research that the differences between men and women in their way of dealing with conflict diminished with their age increased. In another study, the strategies that men and women adopted in managing conflicts were found inconsistent with the stereotypical image of men and women (Cupach & Canary, 1995). The same study also showed that men are not more dominant in conflict management as a contradiction to the stereotype.

A more complex research by Barbuto Jr. *et al.* (2007) was conducted aimed at finding out gender's effect, interacted with age and educational background, on leadership behaviors. Results showed that "gender alone did not affect transactional and transformational leadership"; "educational level and gender together affected followers' perceptions of both leadership style and influence tactics, and significant differences were noted for management by exception, transformational, idealized influence, individualized consideration, extra effort, and effectiveness"; but "in all cases, the differences diminished as educational levels increased"; "the combination of age and gender did not produce an overall main effect on leadership styles or influence tactics" (Barbuto Jr. *et al.*, 2007: 80-81). In Carless's study (1998), women were also found to be more transformational in leadership styles than their male counterpart.

In research by Scott (1993), vision was found to be the most important skill for university president in the eyes of both male and female faculties. Other abilities critical for presidential leadership include fund-raising, fostering collegiality with subordinates through scholarly experience sharing, and decision-making. These skills can also be regarded as special traits that a qualified university president is expected to possess. However, these traits are in accordance with the theory of transformational leadership style, which is noted for its emphasis on "vision, development of the individual, empowerment and challenging traditional assumptions" (Carless, 1998: 887). And as we have talked about before, women were found to be more transformational than males. If all of those findings are valid, then it

is possible to conclude that women are as qualified as men in leadership positions, at least when they use transformational leadership style.

Traditionally, masculine norms were used as standards for behaviors when studying leadership (Chliwniak, 1997). Masculine norms seemed to be naturally embedded in leadership practices that even some female leaders have to follow the norms and exhibit masculinity in order to show authoritative and effective. Sometimes masculine norms work well in leadership practices. Nevertheless, Hofstede (2005) has pointed out that general masculine norms, which pervade American management techniques such as individualism, tolerance of uncertainty and achievement striving, do not work well in countries as China that values collectivism over the individualism.

This part of the thesis argues that gender does not have significant impact on effective leadership by presenting a number of studies in scientific management, socio-linguistics, and socio-psychological researches. We do not consciously intend to prove that women are better than men in leadership positions, but to prove that discrimination against women in senior management positions has no sound base in researches. Although the disadvantages of women's style have not been discussed much, we have to admit that women's style is far from perfect just as that of men. Actually, almost all the evidences are pointing at a single truth that women are not inferior to men as university presidents.

In an urbanized society that emphasizes cooperation rather than competition, universities need to seek for alternative leadership styles and to make various voices be heard. If that will become true, then women deserve to be equally treated, even to be given priority when considering appropriate candidates for presidency, in order to make up the gap between men and women in senior positions of university management, and to better fulfill the egalitarian principle in school administration. Just as Case had pointed in the article:

We are not suggesting that the women's different voice is a "better voice." But it is much better to have both represented than any omitted. If both voices are included in organizational decision making, conversation is transformed and problems can be seen in different ways. (Case, 1990: 112)

5.4. Theoretical analysis of women's competency as university presidents in terms of responsibilities

The first section of this chapter has already analyzed part of the responsibilities that university presidents should shoulder, from the perspective of new challenges brought by internal and external changes. This part will focus on theoretical analysis of presidents' responsibilities, from the perspective of national/local legislation and policies.

“The government's 1951 Decisions on Reform of the Schooling System laid the cornerstone for New China's basic system for higher education” (Zhou, 2006: 11). The Higher Education Law enacted in 1998 further consolidated this system and made more concrete prescriptions on all aspects of higher education. Article 41 in this law prescribed the main duties and responsibilities of university presidents, making specifically that the president of an institution of higher learning shall be fully responsible for the teaching, scientific research and other administrative work of the respective institution. Duties and powers that shall be exercised by presidents include: drafting development planning, formulating specific rules and regulations and annual work plan and organize their implementation; organizing teaching activities, scientific research and ideological and moral education; drafting schemes for the setting up of internal organizations, recommending candidates for vice presidency, appointing and relieving persons-in charge of internal organizations; employing and dismissing teachers and other internal workers, administering students' school roll and give rewards or impose penalties; drafting and implement annual fund budget proposal, protecting and managing school properties and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the school; and other duties and powers provided for in the articles of association. It is also prescribed in the law that president of an institution of higher learning chairs the president's administrative meeting or the institution's administrative meeting and handles the relevant matters prescribed in the preceding paragraph of the article.

Responsibilities prescribed in the Higher Education Law are to some extent overlap the responsibilities imposed by new changes and challenges. So here again, gender should not be among factors influencing effective leadership concerning these responsibilities. The main responsibilities and thus abilities required of university presidents in Chinese HEIs are as follows:

Making strategic plans for university development. A good university president should be visionary in making long-term and short-term plans for school development. These plans should be highly set while remain realizable, and presidents are responsible for taking concrete actions in achieving the goals. Besides, priorities should be given to main tasks and sometimes adventures are necessary in promoting school reform.

Managing financial issues. A qualified university president needs to be an expert in allocating financial assistance, and making good use of the money. The way money is spent should be in consistence with school development planning.

Putting the right person in the right place. Skill in human resource management is among various skills that presidents need to develop in leadership positions. Putting the right person in the right management positions will enhance the total effectiveness of university administration. And proper empowerment may give full play to the enthusiasm and creativity of the subordinates.

Be a leading professor in academy. A good university president should first of all a learned scholar in him/her self. Academic performance will not only win respectability, but may also enhance work performance.

5.5. Summary

The ultimate purpose of universities lies on cultivating “free citizens”, who are after true knowledge rather than worldly pursuits; practicing ethics rather than acting without any regard for authorities; shouldering responsibilities for one’s own words and acts rather than shirking them. This should be the lofty ideal of university education and a qualified president should dedicate his/her life in realizing it.

In an industrialized society, “the university must respond to the needs of society, including those of the industry, and here the rector must set the guidelines” (Wasser, 2007a).

This chapter analyzed women’s competency as university presidents from four aspects, namely the changing environment of higher education, the compatibility of career and maternity, women’s way of exhibiting power and leadership skills, along with the theoretical analysis of presidents’ responsibilities. The basic idea is to prove that women are no inferior to men in their ability of being university president. Although literatures directly

documenting women's capability as university presidents are few, evidences presented here are sufficient in testifying our assertion that sex is irrelevant property in president appointment, and thus cannot be weighed as a criterion in measuring the capability of female presidents. The underrepresentation of females in presidential leadership is unjustifiable and need to be corrected. Now we will turn to discuss possible measures in improving women's status in higher education.

Chapter 6 Relevant Issues on Promoting Equal Opportunities for Women Leaders in Chinese Higher Education

So far we have discussed woman presidents in Chinese universities, their status quo, barriers and obstacles they have encountered in promotion, and their competency as presidents compared with men. Besides, we have examined women's status in highest management positions in American and Norwegian universities respectively, and analyzed the possible reasons that may contribute to the differences in women's status as school leaders in three countries.

This chapter will concentrate on the examination of promulgated policies that may promote equal opportunities for women in China and deficiencies of the existed policies. Suggestions based on western experiences will be made in the later part of this chapter, in the hope that our suggestions may help in future policy-making and university practice.

6.1. The ameliorating environment for academic women – affirmative actions to women's equal opportunities

As we have discussed earlier, women are to a large extent underrepresented in Chinese universities, both in president's positions and in other levels such as full-time professors' positions. And the shortage of woman university presidents is largely due to the shortage of females in lower levels of school management. Nevertheless, the broad environment is getting ameliorated for academic women now - favorable policies and regulations are made to meet the special needs of women employers, women's development strategies are incorporated into national development plans, and women are encouraged to take positive actions in enhancing their positions and showing their capabilities on the world stage.

It has been acknowledged by the government that women's interests deserve to be better protected, and effective measures and actions need to be taken immediately to correct the unequal situations which are, to a large extent, remains of the feudal ideologies.

This section will review existed national policies and regulations in which favorable articles are stated toward woman employers. Then women's own efforts toward equal opportunities in university management will be presented.

6.1.1. National policies and other effective measures favoring women's progression in HEIs

6.1.1.1. An overview of national policies favoring women's employment in the labor market

Actually, national policies favoring academic women in particular are still to be seen. But laws and policies made in favor of woman employers in general are being perfected since the establishment of People's Republic of China. A comprehensive system of laws and regulations has established to protect women's rights and interests concerning employment, including laws on equal employment opportunities, maternity leave, restricted working environment for female employers, etc., and we will further articulate these laws and policies as follows.

- Legal provisions and policies on equal employment opportunities for women

Equal opportunity for women's employment has been prescribed in many place of the state's legal system, including *Labor Law of the People's Republic of China*⁴⁵, *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection Women's Rights and Interests*⁴⁶, *Employment Promotion Law of the People's Republic of China*⁴⁷, and *Provisions on Employment Services and Employment Management*⁴⁸.

Equal employment opportunities refer to not only equal opportunities in getting employment, but also equal treatment in other aspects related to employment such as equal pay and equal opportunity in promotion, evaluation and determination of professional or technological titles. Any discrimination against women under the excuse of gender is prohibited. And no employers shall refuse females or enhance the recruiting standards for

⁴⁵ Labor Law of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the eighth meeting of the Standing Committee of the Eighth National People's Congress on July 5, 1994, and hereby promulgated and came into force on January 1, 1995.

⁴⁶ Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests was enacted and put into practice first in 1992, and was amended according to the Decision of the 17th Session of the Standing Committee of the Tenth National People's Congress about Amending the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests on August 28, 2005.

⁴⁷ Employment Promotion Law of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the 29th Session of the Standing Committee of the Tenth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on August 30, 2007, and was hereby promulgated and came into force on January 1, 2008.

⁴⁸ Provisions on Employment Services and Employment Management were adopted at the 21st executive meeting of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security on October 30, 2007, and hereby promulgated and came into force on January 1, 2008.

females unless it is otherwise stipulated that females are not suitable for engaging in that kind of work or taking up that post.

- Legal provisions and policies on maternity leave and other related issues

It was first prescribed in the *Labor Insurance Regulations of the People's Republic of China*⁴⁹ that female employers shall have 56 days leave before and after the childbearing, and shall be paid normal wages during the maternity leave. A certain amount of subsidy shall be paid under the labor insurance fund. It is further described in the Labor Law of the People's Republic of China that the maternity leave should be no less than 90 days. Provisions on related issues such as maternity leave for miscarriage have also been prescribed in these laws.

It is prescribed in the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection Women's Rights and Interests* and *Employment Promotion law of the People's Republic of China* that labor contracts with female employees shall not contain any restrictions on childbearing and maternity leave.

- Legal provisions and policies in preference with female employees

Restricted working conditions are defined in several provisions to give special protection to female employees, and more special treatment is being given to those employees who are in pregnancy, confinement, or nursing period. These provisions are included in such laws as *Labor Law of the People's Republic of China*, *Labor Contract Law of the People's Republic of China*⁵⁰,

It is also prescribed in the law that women should be given special consideration when training, selecting and appointing cadres, in order to ensure an appropriate number of female leaders in decision-making and thus better fulfill the egalitarian principle between men and women.

⁴⁹ Labor Insurance Regulations of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the 73rd Government Administrative Meeting of the Government Administration Council on February 23, 1951, and hereby promulgated by the Government Administration Council on February 26, 1951.

⁵⁰ Labor Contract Law of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the 28th Session of the Standing Committee of the Tenth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China on June 29, 2007, is hereby promulgated and came into force on January 1, 2008.

Besides these legal provisions and policies introduced above, Chinese government also joined various international frameworks on eliminating discrimination against women. For instance, the government has joined United Nations (UN) in the Convention and dedicated itself to the equity between men and women under Article 18 of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, and *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995.

6.1.1.2. Effective measures and actions in promoting women's status and development

In 1990, The National Working Committee on Children and Women (NWCCW) was established under the State Council as a coordination and discussion organization through which State Council plays a role in promoting the development of children and women. NWCCW is a governmental organ responsible for the advancement of women, and its members include 24 government departments and five national non-governmental organizations (NGOs), each are responsible for formulating concrete policies and measures in their respective fields⁵¹.

The government also works on eliminating discrimination against women in cooperation with some international organizations. UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women), a women's fund at UN, has established its China office in Beijing in 1998, in support of Chinese government in achieving gender equity.

In addition to the establishment of specialized departments, two successive programs on women's advancement were implemented. The first one is the Program for the Development of Chinese Women (1995-2000), implemented in July 1995 (hereinafter referred to as Program 1995). The second one is the Program for the Development of Chinese Women (2001-2010), which was officially launched in May 2001 (hereinafter referred to as Program 2001). Program 2001 is an extension of Program 1995. It explains more explicitly the aims and concrete measures for achieving women's over-all development, and further safeguards the legitimate rights and interests of women by monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the first program. A steering group for monitoring and assessing the implementation of the two programs was set up by NWCCW.

⁵¹ <http://www.women.org.cn/english/english/fact/mulu.htm>.

Program 2001 was designed to promote women's development in six main areas, including economy, decision-making and management, education, health, law and environment. Among these areas, equal opportunity for women in employment is being further stressed.

6.1.2. The role of UNESCO in promoting equal opportunities for women in higher education

As one of the most influential international organizations, UNESCO plays an important role in promoting educational development among its member countries. It is stated on the official website of UNESCO that "the organization supports governments and institutions worldwide in building capacity and formulating policies and strategies, so that higher education fully contributes to sustainable national development" (UNESCO, 2005).

In order to promote sustainability in human development, "UNESCO aims to foster a gender-inclusive culture through education, including higher education" (UNESCO, 1995: 8). Series of guiding documents, including legal instruments and strategic reports, form a framework within the educational system concerning gender issues. For example, *the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979*, as we have mentioned earlier, is one of the main normative instruments in promoting gender equity. UNESCO also took initiatives in the resolution of many global issues relating to gender.

In 1998, World Conference on Higher Education (WCHE) was held in October, Paris. A thematic debate called *Women and Higher Education: Issues and perspectives* was initiated and the result turned to be fruitful. A number of recommendations were made and formed a serial of strategies for future actions. Five goals to be achieved by 2010 were set up in WCHE. And two of them are higher related with our discussion in this paper.

The second goal for 2010 states that "university chairs, professorships and head of department posts should be filled by men and women on an equal basis. As many women now hold the required qualifications, targets to regularly increase their appointments until the 50% figure is reached should be established. This may involve the creation of new posts" (UNESCO, 1998: 7). And the third goal is formulated like this: "ideally, 50% of all rectors/vice-chancellors should be women. In reality, statistics show that, on average, only 5-7% of rector/VC posts are occupied by women. Institutions should set a policy to increase

this figure by 25% per year till 50% is reached. A policy of alternation may be useful in this instance” (UNESCO, 1998: 7).

Besides setting up rules and regulations for its member countries to follow, UNESCO also established concrete measures for itself. For example, it is advocated that an international observatory on women’s participation in decision-making processes should be established to ensure the realization of equality (UNESCO, 1998).

In addition to the WCHE, UNESCO also commits itself to the promotion of women’s equal opportunity in higher education by actively encouraging, facilitating, and sponsoring in action research and training in this area. Several documents focused on the relevant issues were published by UNESCO, such as *Women in Higher Education*, which is a collection of papers on women’s role in higher education management in several different countries or regions (UNESCO, 1993); and *Women and Management in Higher Education: A Good Practice Handbook*, which “constitutes an international inventory of successful strategies to increase the participation of women in this sector and thus promotes the principle of gender equity in higher education” (Seddoh, 2002: 4). These publications are of great help in guiding both research and national practice.

6.1.3. International Forum of Female University Presidents

Policies and regulations stated above, and strategies of government department and NGOs, are not targeted specifically at academic women in HEIs, not to mention some specific positions like university president. Besides, policies and regulations are only supportive environment for women’s progression, and thus can be seen as external impetuses. However, internal impetuses such as positive participation of females in various activities and the increasing awareness of equal opportunities among women may be more important for women’s development. The International Forum of Female University Presidents (IFFUP) is a good example in that it is women’s own efforts against gender disparity and it aims at increasing women’s participation in university presidency in particular.

IFFUP was initiated by Communication University of China in 2003, and was hold four times since then. Female university presidents from different countries gathered together in the forum, discussing women’s development and various issues related to higher

education management. The forum committed itself to creating an environment of culture diversity and gender equity.

Female university presidents are minorities in higher education in nearly all countries, with few exceptions like Sweden where full balance between genders has been achieved among university rectors. The forum provides a favorable platform for these women in exchanging ideas and experiences, and thus promotes understandings on president's profession. Positive connections and supportive networks among these achieved women can be built through participation in the forum.

IFFUP is women's awareness of their own potentials and abilities, and calls for the society to pay more attention to female university presidents. We believe that this kind of activities will help in achieving gender equality in university presidents' profession, and we would be glad to see that Chinese women are becoming more active in such activities.

6.2. Deficiencies in promoting women's equal opportunities

Like the old saying goes, Rome wasn't built in one day. Given the constraints stemming from the imbalanced development of various levels of the society, and the influence of hackneyed feudal ideology, the full realization of gender equality in China is far from achieved. Although corrective actions have been made to protect women's rights and interests, we are still in need of a favorable social environment for women's development and for eliminating all forms of discrimination against women.

The existing deficiencies in promoting women's development lie particularly in the lacking of concrete definitions of discrimination in any Chinese laws. Chinese government has joined UN in its *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, and thus can be seen as has accepted all the prescribed articles in the Convention, including the definition of the term "discrimination against women". But lacking of corresponding definitions in domestic laws is no doubt a serious flaw in the whole legal system, which functions as the fundamental support for achieving gender equality.

The term "discrimination against women" should not only be defined in the national law, but also in organizational operational policies. For example, university should make it clear in its constitution that discrimination against women in student enrollment, staff

recruitment, and president appointment is strictly forbidden. Such articles need to be operationalized and punishment for breaking the rules should be set forth. Unfortunately, few universities have realized this practical need.

Besides policy-making, further deficiencies occurred in the execution and evaluation of these policies and regulations. Although people have begun to realize the importance of gender equality in the society, concrete measures and effective evaluations are still need to be established.

Few actions were taken aiming specifically at academic women in higher education, or at improving women's participation in senior management positions in universities. Seminars or workshops aiming at cultivating women for senior positions in HEIs are almost absent, while such seminars and workshops are proved to be somewhat effective in the practice of other developed countries.

Last but not the least, the public is still skeptical about women's capability in senior management positions. This skeptic is the remains of the feudal ideology and has lasted for thousands of years, but we believe that it will be removed eventually as more efforts are put in eliminating discrimination against women.

6.3. Possible measures to promote women's progression in HEIs

Although progression on women's advancement in higher education has been made during the past decade, it is no more than the awareness of the inequity position for women in the society. More radical measures need to be adopted in order to further promote egalitarian principles in HEIs. The following part is the possible measures in promoting women's progression in HEIs, based on the experiences from other countries, particularly the United States, which have more 50 years of theory and more than 40 years experiences in practice in affirmative actions.

Improve women's participation in higher education cannot be achieved only by removing the formal obstacles and barriers that they are encountering. Positive measures are necessary to expedite the process of restoring equilibrium in HEIs.

6.3.1. Equal opportunity legislation

Policies and regulations may best protect the rights and interests of female employees because they are enacted by the State and are representatives of the ideas that the government advocates. So a comprehensive legal system is needed urgently for protecting equal opportunities of female employees, and among the most important things that we need now is a concrete definition of the term “discrimination”, without which, women’s equally opportunity can hardly be achieved.

The perfection of the national legislation is a long process because it needs to take diversity situations into consideration in order to better fulfill the needs of as many people as possible. So policies and rules at the provincial or organizational level should be more flexible and ready to meet the challenges of the new environment, especially policies at the organizational level – putting into the context of this paper – including clearer and more specific description on job requirement and candidate’s qualification when recruiting teaching and administrative staffs.

In our opinion, it is not important who functions as the authority in issuing orders on president appointment. What matters is that the searching and selecting procedures for university presidents should be open and transparent, especially for those universities affiliated directly to the central government. We have many good examples from some developed countries like UK and US, even Hong Kong can provide us with rich experiences in president searching and selecting. The core idea is that universities should have set policies and regulations based on competency rather than irrelative qualities in selecting their highest governing body and presidents, and an effective system to guarantee the executing of such regulations. The thought of equal opportunity, no matter based on gender or ethnicity, should be embedded in every move of president selection. And government should stay back farther from such affairs.

6.3.2. Preferential treatment

“It has long been recognized that the mere legal prohibition of discrimination will not lead to significant changes in the socio-economic position of historically disadvantaged groups” (Busby, 2006: 42). Besides equal opportunity legislation at the national and organizational level, a more radical but may be effective way for reclaiming women’s lost rights as university presidents is the use of preferential treatment. More specifically

speaking, women should be given preference when competing for university presidents if they are equally qualified with their male counterparts. And such preferential treatment should be conducted based on the premise that presidents searching and selecting process is open and judgments are made based on competency only.

According to Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, affirmative action “means positive steps taken to increase the representation of women and minorities in areas of employment, education, and business from which they have been historically excluded” (Fullinwider, 2005)⁵². According to this definition, all the possible measures we are suggesting here can be included in affirmative actions.

But when referring to “preferential treatment regarding sex”, affirmative action becomes a hot debate. The use of preferential treatment in faculty appointment in universities is really debatable in many aspects. For example, one disagreement over the using of preferential treatment lies on the essentially contestable terms, such as “right” and “justice”. Other opponents to affirmative action often argue that preferential treatment for women seems to override the basic rules that candidates based on qualifications and competence (Simon, 1993).

Nevertheless, we will still use the term “preferential treatment” in this paper indicating favorable treatment for female candidates given the conditions that all other qualifications being equal. Maybe it will cause resentment for being invidious discrimination in a reverse form if a female candidate is favored for a certain position like university presidents over an equally qualified male candidate. We think this is a radical but may be the most effective way of modifying the unequal situation for academic women in China in status quo. Quoting from Thomas Nagel (1988: 346), “affirmative action ... is simply a means of increasing the social and economic strength of formerly victimized groups, and does not stigmatize others”. Whether preferential treatment is appropriate in Chinese universities, and to what extent, is not the topic of this paper. So we will just leave the debate unsettled here.

Through the analysis in chapter 5 on women’s competency as university presidents, we hope there will be less disbelief casted on women. Moreover, we need to stress it here that, when referring to “preferential treatment”, we are not arguing that women should be given

⁵² Last revised on March 4, 2005. Last retrieved access on May 27, 2008. URL: <http://www.science.uva.nl/~seop/entries/affirmative-action/>.

unlimited and infinite preference in job appointment. In the context of existing conditions in Chinese society where affirmative action is only in its beginning and people's attitude to it may be quite conservative, we would suggest minimal effect actions which give preference only to the equally competent candidates, and competency should always be the most critical criteria in selecting the appropriate candidate for president.

Certainly, whether there is any side effect of preferential treatment in selecting university president needs to be discussed as practice develops. And amendment would be necessary if, for instance, ethnically questionable practices are involved in the implementation of preferential treatment. Revision to the policies or alternative measures needs to be adopted for further notice. No matter what the results are going to be, women in the contemporary social environment need the opportunity to become a university president. They also need effective institutional non-discriminatory practices to support their work and facilitate their contribution to the universities upon their appointment.

6.3.3. Effective evaluation system to the qualification of university presidents

Sound policies and concrete measures are necessary for the success of a project; effective evaluation is also indispensable for guaranteeing the long lasting of this project. The evaluation system to the qualification of university presidents should include two levels of evaluation.

The first level of evaluation should be addressed to university president as a profession. The searching committee, or similar departments in charge of president selecting, should examine the practical needs of the university and challenges from the changing society, evaluate the demanded competency, and summarize the basic qualifications of president's profession based on the integrity of multiple factors. Evaluation at this level can provide guidance to the presidents' searching and selecting procedure.

The second level of evaluation should be conducted periodically after the president is selected, and should be addressed to university president as an individual. This level of evaluation provides supervision and feedbacks to the president's work, and hopefully, will be beneficial for improving the performance of the president.

6.3.4. Building up supportive networks and effective mentorship in HEIs

Important factors that prohibit women's progression in Chinese HEIs include people's disbelief on women's competency, and the existed division pattern of labor in the society, in which women are placed mainly at home and lack encouragements to challenge senior positions. In short, the supportive network is needed to promote Chinese women's advancement in HEIs.

Supportive network is a good way of information sharing among women from different fields, and has been proved as a practical way of breaking through the glass-ceilings. It is documented in several literatures as "an important dimension of women's advancement into the traditionally male power structure" (Landino & Welch, 1990: 12). Supportive networks can be built among family members, who may have the most direct impact on women's progression, and among other formal or informal organizations outside the family. For instance, IFFUP can be seen as a formal network in support of women's advancement to university president, and a group of women sharing the same interest in university management, meeting together occasionally to help each other in job promotion can be seen as an informal network, and both of which have positive effect on women's own development.

Supportive networks may be more effective in promoting women's progression than people usually think. Researchers have found that conflicts are minimized when both members of a couple are supportive of each other (Bird & Bird 1986; Kater, 1985, cited in Schnittger & Bird, 1990), and the supportive relationship can extend to other people living a similar life-style (Schnittger & Bird, 1990).

Supportive networks can be manifested as seminars or workshops designed specifically for women's advancement in university management. Such seminars and workshops have many successful precedents in other countries. For instance, the "Managing Personal and Professional Development for Women" course for female academicians in universities launched in 1990 in the UK, and "Women into Senior Management" program initiated under the collaboration between the University of Strathclyde and Edinburgh (Brown, 2000).

Supportive networks can take other forms such as mentoring, which by definition, is the process by which the protégé is guided and influenced by a more experienced mentor (Alexander, 1990). Effective mentorship between a committed mentor and a protégé can have positive impact on the professional development of the latter. It is documented that “mentoring in academe provides the vehicle for putting into context a professional value system; the teaching, research, and service missions of higher education; and personal career aspirations” (Anderson & Ramey, 1990: 189). Another research into mentor and protégé relationships among female college presidents has demonstrated that “mentorship and multiple mentoring relationships are invaluable in advancing women through the ranks of higher education administration and for increasing the number of female college presidents” (Brown, 2005: 659).

New trend in conceptualizing mentorship is about co-mentoring. It is documented in literatures that:

(Co-mentoring is) a proactive force that unites the mentor and mentee or a group of individuals in a reciprocal, mutual exchange that creates a context for the learning relationship. This structure can function as a catalyst for changing traditional practices, hierarchical systems, and homogeneous cultures. Specifically, co-mentoring is a relational or feminist value that seeks to transcend status and power differences and promote diversity by bringing women and minorities into the network. Similarly, collaborative mentoring offers a countercultural approach to entrenched exclusivity: when practiced effectively, this kind of mentoring mobilizes social equality among individuals of various statuses and ability levels, enabling productive synergy. (Mullen, 2006: 661)

Because of the benefits that can be brought by effective mentorship, as we have illustrated above, universities in many countries around the world began to pay their attention in the issue. And scholars contribute by sharing their professional suggestions on the construction of mentorship networks. It is suggested that “the ideal formal mentor is the supervising principal” who acts as the internal role model, and “the informal mentor is a confidant and a friend who can challenge the mentee” (Reyes, 2006: 104).

6.4. Summary

China has developed a lot in her efforts against gender discrimination in women’s employment, both in policy making and in practices. But deficiencies still exist and Chinese women will have a long way to go in fighting against gender discrimination in HEIs.

Besides, it is far from enough for individual women to strive against discrimination in their efforts to become university presidents. Policies and practice at the national and organizational levels must in support of those individuals.

As have stated in the article, having explicit equal opportunity legislation is only the first step. But legal support itself is not enough to lead a significant advancement for those who have been discriminated long in history. The key to the substantial increase of women's status in HEIs lies on implementing proper staff recruitment and promotion procedures backed up by effective evaluation systems and coherent staff development programs. Women themselves should realize their potentials and abilities in higher education management and a group of dedicated women should be ready to take positions in senior management positions and to help other women in career advancement.

We should dedicate ourselves in building up a system in which women will not feel excluded from the norms because of their gender. Although much effort needs to be taken before break-through is achieved, we are optimistic about women's future in presidents' positions because we believe that an effective operating system in HEIs needs a balanced gender distribution in its administrative structures.

Chapter 7 Discussions and Conclusions

After spending five chapters analyzing women's status in higher education, its history, status quo, and the possible future, now we are approaching the end of this work. We hope that the readers have already got their answers to those questions we brought forward in the opening chapter.

In reviewing of this paper, we are quite aware of the shortcomings in our work. But due to the limitations in time, money, energy, and personal knowledge, some of the shortcomings are inevitable. But anyway, we did our best in constructing this paper. We still want to point out some of the limitations here because they may give direction to future researches.

Concerning the main topic of this paper, the first thing we would like to do to perfect our work is to collect more comprehensive and accurate data on Chinese university presidents. We used the result of RUC survey in analyzing the characteristics of Chinese university presidents, but original data were nowhere to be found. Data inadequacy greatly hindered our inquiry into many relationships using statistical analysis. Quantitative methods are necessary and useful in helping us see the overall profiles before deeper analysis are carried out. We used quantitative analysis once in our discussion on age norms, but more researches using this kind of method are desired if data are sufficient.

In addition to quantitative inquiry, case study into female presidents' life will help a lot in getting a close look at their feelings, likes and dislikes. By sharing their experience of success and failure, much can be learnt in understanding women's role and in improving their status in higher education. However, we didn't find such case that could be thoroughly studied. In our own research into the top 100 universities, all the presidents were found to be male. We also failed in figuring out who were in the 4.5 per cent female presidents in RUC survey. Some popular searching engines like google and yahoo didn't provide us with more information on female university presidents who currently hold the post. However, future researches may take a start by doing qualitative interview into senior woman managers' life and experiences in universities.

Another shortcoming that we would like to mention here is that, most of the research findings we based our analysis on in this paper are generated from western practice. This

may due to both the scarcity of the relative research in the context of Chinese society and the lack of access to the authoritative source of information. So women as a group, as analyzed in this paper, is arbitrarily seen to be homogeneous in identity, personality, ways of thinking, acting and responding irrespective of the different environment women were brought up and educated. To solve this problem needs further exploration into academic women in Chinese universities particularly.

Some concepts used in this paper are in controversy, such as “affirmative action” or “preferential treatment”, as well as “women’s way of leading”. Different views on these concepts have not been mentioned much in this paper. But the concrete meanings used in this paper were stated, in order to clarify the specific usage of these concepts. Judgment of the proper usage of these terms will be left to the readers.

Historically, higher education has been men’s domain where women were oppressed and largely underrepresented, no matter in western countries or in ancient China when the higher education system is completely different from the contemporary one. Thanks to women’s movement and the awakening of people’s consciousness to women’s role in the society. The social environment is getting more ameliorated and policies are more favorable to women’s advancement. Affirmative actions are being implemented are benefits have begun to show. Today, female students consist of approximately half of the student body in undergraduate level in many countries, and female workers and staff take up no less than half of the positions in higher education. However, higher education is still men’s domain in that male outnumber female students in more advanced level of study like doctoral student, the absence of females in STE fields persists, most full-time professors and senior administrative positions are still occupied by men, and strong masculine value continue to dominate the organizational culture on campus, which causes some uncomfortable experiences of many academic women in trying to merge into the male culture.

In the case of China, the low social status of women manifested in their lower participation in the labor market, their clustering in certain industries and absence in others, lower salaries than their male colleagues when doing the same work, and female students earned only one fourth of the doctoral degrees conferred in 2002. Even among teachers already been employed in HEIs, the percentage of females with doctoral degree is much lower than that of males. Concerning the professional title, which characterizes many state-owned and collective-owned organizations in China, females are also in disadvantaged

positions because they are fewer in almost every level except in junior level where the percentage of women exceeds that of men by 0.6%. The gender gap enlarges with the level of professional title increases. Gender information on administrative/managerial staffs in Chinese HEIs was not found, but the extremely imbalanced gender distribution among university presidents suggests strong gender inequity in senior positions of university management.

The same situation can also be found in Norway and the US. Although much ameliorated, the disadvantaged position of female academicians in higher education still worth to be noted. Compared with China, these two countries have higher participatory rate of females in doctoral studies, full-time professoriate, and presidential leadership. The differences in females' participation degree have been analyzed mainly from the cultural perspective using Hofstede's four culture dimensions, namely PDI, IDV, MAS, and UAI. Among the four dimensions, MAS was found by some other scholars to be negatively connected with females' enrollment rate in tertiary education. Because country data on women's participatory rate in higher education administration are very difficult to be collected, statistical analysis cannot be conducted on the relationship between each of other three dimensions and women's participation rate. It is a pity for us to leave the statistical analysis undone, but in another sense, it indicates directions for future exploration. Because quantitative inquiries into culture influences were not performable, we used logic and reasoning in exploring the possible explanations to the differences in women's participation level. Country score of China, Norway and the US in Hofstede's culture dimensions provided us with references and confirmation on our tentative exploration. However, we still hope that statistical analysis could be available to further test and verify the explanations we've made.

Differences in practicing affirmative actions were also mentioned briefly in explaining country differences in participatory rate of females in higher education. In our opinion, structural factors like policies are the most immediate variables. So the most straightforward way of solving a problem is to protect and promote expected behaviors by policies and regulations. The rich experience accumulated from years of practice of affirmative actions in America no doubt helps in the increased participation of females in university presidency. It also illuminated us of the way of improving women's status in China.

We turned to the identification of barriers in women's advancement naturally after examining women's status in higher education. The career progression model, enlightened by Gene and Paul's theory on career stages, was developed in chapter 4 to facilitate our analysis. Four perspectives were adopted to identify historical, cultural, political/structural, and socio-economical barriers respectively. Series of barriers and obstacles that prevent Chinese women from promotion to presidential leadership in universities were identified with careful scrutinization of women's family and career lives. Besides, related findings made by some other scholars provided us with valuable experience and references. Main barriers against women's progression found in this paper include: historical ignorance of women's role in presidential leadership, masculine dominated culture and strongly held age norms in higher education, double burden for professional women and role conflict between work and family, more interruptions in the career advancement, lower social expectations, problematic mechanism on president selection, absence of supportive network and effective mentoring, and the societal over-emphasis on STE fields where women have long been disadvantageous. All of these adverse factors made universities, which should have been regarded as favorable and attractive to women, particularly unattractive. And women's experiences of being neglected and excluded may draw them farther away from universities.

Is women's underrepresentation in higher education, especially presidential leadership justifiable? In other words, gender barriers and obstacles identified in chapter four, being it historical, cultural, political, or socio-economical, are external factors that are beyond the control of women themselves. So what about internal factors? Democratic principle advocated in today's society emphasizes personnel promotion based on meritocracy, in which competency stands at the core. So women's capability in presidential leadership becomes a crucial indicator in justifying their underrepresentation in universities. More clearly speaking, the underrepresentation of females among senior administrators is unjustifiable if women are found to be no less capable than men in university leadership.

The analysis of women's competency in presidential leadership was carried under the main backdrop of changes and challenges in today's higher education. Economic development and globalization were found to be two main forces in bringing changes and challenges. By discussing the new environment for today's universities, we came to the conclusion that the most needed and expected abilities and practical skills for university presidents are irrelevant with gender. We further explored the compatibility of women's

career and family and found that balance between the two was possible. Besides, studies on career women's life cycle indicated that women should not be rejected for presidential leadership in the excuse of their responsibilities in domestic affairs may distract them from effective management. This assertion was further confirmed by the theoretical analysis of women's style of leadership in a general sense, and their competence in shouldering president's responsibilities prescribed in the Higher Education Law. In short, gender differences commonly exist in thinking and behavior patterns. The differences might have something to do with the physical structure of human brains so some of the gendered traits are genetically inherited rather than acquired. Although contradictory findings were found in literatures on women's ability in leadership, most of them suggested no significant differences between gender and leadership effectiveness. Some researches even got favorable results for women leaders and managers. This made us possible to conclude that females are no less capable than males in presidential leadership so their underrepresentation in senior administrative positions is unjustifiable.

The last problem we dealt with in this paper is how to restore gender equilibrium in Chinese higher education. First of all, we made an overview of the favorable policies and positive actions in promoting women's equal opportunity in the work place, especially in higher education. The role of UNESCO played in helping and guiding country practice in promoting gender balance in higher education was also discussed. Because policy deficiencies were partly overlapped with political barriers we have analyzed in chapter 4, so they were just briefly mentioned in chapter 6. Four recommendations were given to help the restoration of gender equilibrium in higher education administration. These recommendations were mainly pointed at correcting political/structural barriers because as we have suggested, protecting and promoting wanted behaviors by enacting policies and regulations is the most straightforward way of solving problems.

During the process of thesis composing, we sensed an urgent need of gender studies in China. For one thing, gender theories and practices are lagged far behind some countries. For another, comprehensive data concerning gender issues are largely in scarcity. These two deficiencies in gender study are in essence, deficiencies in theory and practice. Without the guidance of sound theory, practice cannot be performed smoothly, and data collection may fall out of direction. Without elaborated work of data collection, theories are difficult to be developed and tested and thus verified. Of course we can borrow and learn gender theories

from other countries, but it is important for us to examine and test the existed theories generated in western societies in the context of China before applying them to the practice.

Nevertheless, we are pleased to see the revival of women's self-consciousness of being strong and independent. We are also delighted to see higher commitment of women to their careers. We believe that women's equal opportunity will finally be realized with their abilities being fully acknowledged by the society.

Appendix

Table A-1: Country score and rank in Hofstede's culture dimensions: China, Norway and the US.

Country	PDI		IDV		MAS		UAI	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
China	80	12-14	20	56-61	66	11-13	30	68-69
Norway	31	67-68	69	16-17	8	73	50	57
US	40	57-59	91	1	62	19	46	62

Source: Hofstede & Hofstede (2005). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Note: the total number of countries/regions in the ranking is 74.

References

- Acker, J. (1992). Gendering Organizational Theory. In Mills, A. J. & Tancred, P. (Eds.), *Gendering Organizational Analysis*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Acker, J. & Van Houten, D. R. (1992). Differential Recruitment and Control: The Sex Structuring of Organizations. In Mills, A. J. & Tancred, P. (Eds.), *Gendering Organizational Analysis*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Acker, S. (1994). *Gendered Education: Sociological Reflections on Women, Teaching and Feminism*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Adams, D. & Gamage, D. T. (2008). A Study of Leadership Effectiveness in a Large VET Institution in Australia. In *International Journal of Educational Management*, 22 (3): 214-228.
- Alxander, D. W. (1990). An Exploration of Attributes Present in a Mentor/protégé Relationship in Nursing Education Administration. In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.
- Anderson, R. T. & Ramey, P. (1990). Women in Higher Education: Development Through Administrative Mentoring. In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.
- Bales, R. F. (1950). *Interaction Process Analysis: A Method for the Study of Small Groups*. Cambridge, Mass: Addison-Wesley.
- Barata, P., Hunjan, S. & Leggatt, J. (2005). Ivory Tower? Feminist Women's Experiences of Graduate School. In *Women's Studies International Forum*, 28 (2/3): 232-246.
- Barbezat, D. A. & Hughes, J. W. (2005). Salary Structure Effects and the Gender Pay Gap in Academia. In *Research in Higher Education*, 46 (6): 621-640.
- Barbuto, J. E., Fritz, S. M., Matkin, G. S. & Marx, D. B. (2007). Effects of Gender, Education, and Age upon Leaders' Use of Influence Tactics and Full Range Leadership Behaviors. In *Sex Roles*, 56 (1/2): 71-83.
- Bass, B. M. & Stogdill, R. M. (1990). *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*. New York: Free Press.
- Bauer, J., Want, F., Riley, N. E., & Zhao, X. (1992). Gender Inequality in Urban China: Education and Employment. In *Modern China*, 18 (3): 333-370.
- Blickenstaff, J. C. (2005). Women and Science Careers: Leaky Pipeline or Gender Filter? In *Gender and Education*, 17 (4): 369-386.
- Bradac, J. J. & Mulac, A. (1984). A Molecular View of Powerful and Powerless Speech Styles. In *Communication Monographs*, 51 (4): 307-319.

- Bradac, J. J. & Street, R. L. (1989/1990). Powerful and Powerless Styles of Talk: Atheoretical Analysis of Language and Impression Formation. In *Research on Language and Social Interaction*. 23: 195-242.
- Brown, G., Van Ummersen, C., & Phair, J. (2002). *Breaking the Barriers: Presidential Strategies for Enhancing Career Mobility*. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education.
- Brown, R. M. (2000). Developing and Delivering Personal and Professional Development for Women in Higher Education. In *Teacher Development*, 4 (1): 103-113.
- Brown, T. M. (2005). Mentorship and the Female College President. In *Sex Roles*, 52 (9/10): 659-666.
- Burgoon, J. K. & Dillman, L. (1995). Gender, Immediacy and Nonverbal Communication. In Kalbfleisch, P. J. & Cody, M. J. (Eds.), *Gender, Power, and Communication in Human Relationships*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Burrell, G. (1992). Sex and Organizational Analysis. In Mills, A. J. & Tancred, P. (Eds.), *Gendering Organizational Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Busby, N. (2006). Affirmative Action in Women's Employment: Lessons from Canada. In *Journal of Law and Society*, 33 (1): 42-58.
- Bush, T. (2008). From Management to Leadership: Semantic or Meaningful Change? In *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 36 (2): 271-288.
- Canary, D. J. & Hause, K. S. (1993). Is There Any Reason to Research Sex Differences in Communication? In *Communication Quarterly*, 41 (2): 129-144.
- Carless, S. A. (1998). Gender Differences in Transformational Leadership: An Examination of Superior, Leader, and Subordinate Perspectives. In *Sex Roles*, 39 (11/12): 887-902.
- Case, S. S. (1990). Communication Styles in Higher Education: Differences Between Academic Men and Women. In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.
- Cheung, H. Y. & Chan, A. W. H. (2007). How Culture Affects Female Inequality Across Countries: An Empirical Study. In *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11 (2): 157-179.
- Chliwniak, L. (1997). Higher Education Leadership: Analyzing the Gender Gap. *ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report*, 25 (4).
- Chusmir, L. H. & Mills, J. (1989). Gender Differences in Conflict Resolution Styles of Managers: At Work and At Home. In *Sex Roles*, 20 (3/4): 149-163.
- Cimperman, R. M. (1986). Women in Leadership Roles: A Field Study of Women Administrators' Perception of Self. (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Central States Speech Association (Cincinnati, OH, April 17-19, 1986)).

-
- Coker, D. A. & Burgoon, J. K. (1987). The Nature of Conversational Involvement and Nonverbal Encoding Patterns. In *Human Communication Research*, 13 (4): 463-494.
- Collard, J. & Reynolds, C. (Eds.) (2005). *Leadership, Gender and Culture in Education: Male and Female Perspectives*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Cuban, L. (1988). *The Managerial Imperative and the Practice of Leadership in Schools*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Cupach, W. R. & Canary, D. J. (1995). Managing Conflict and Anger: Investigating the Sex Stereotype Hypothesis. In Kalbfleisch, P. J. & Cody, M. J. (Eds.), *Gender, Power, and Communication in Human Relationships*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Dines, E. (1993). Overview. In Commonwealth Secretariat & UNESCO (Eds.), *Women in Higher Education Management*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Ding, X. (2007). Expansion and Equality of Access to Higher Education in China. In *Frontiers of Education in China*, 2 (2): 151-162.
- Duane, M. J. (1989). Sex Differences in Styles of Conflict Management. In *Psychological Report*, 65: 1033-1034.
- Eagly, A. H. & Carli, L. L. (2003). The Female Leadership Advantage: An Evaluation of the Evidence. In *The Leadership Quarterly*, 14: 807-843.
- Eagly, A. H. (2007). Female Leadership Advantage and Disadvantage: Resolving the Contradictions. In *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31 (1): 1-12.
- Earley, P. C. (1989). Social Loafing and Collectivism: A Comparison of the United States and the People's Republic of China. In *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 34 (4): 565-581.
- Eckel, D. P. & King, E. J. (2006). United States. In Forest, J. & Altbach, P. (Eds.), *International Handbook of Higher Education, Part Two*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Frehill, L. (1997). Education and Occupational Sex Segregation: the Decision to Major in Engineering. In *The Sociological Quarterly*, 38 (2): 225-249.
- Fride Eeg-Henriksen (1985). *The Role of Women in Higher Education – The Case of Norway*. Utredninger om forskning og høyere utdanning, NAVF's utredningsinstitutt, Norges allmennvitenskapelige forskningsråd.
- Ganzel, A. K. (1999). Adolescent Decision Making: The Influence of Mood, Age, and Gender on the Consideration of Information. In *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 14 (3): 289-318.
- Gaskell, J., Eichler, M., Pan, J., Xu, J., & Zhang, X. (2004). The Participation of Women Faculty in Chinese Universities: Paradoxes of Globalization. In *Gender and Education*, 16 (4): 511-529.

-
- Gendreau-Massaloux, M. & Fave-Bonnet, M. F. (1993). The Role of Women in the Administration of Higher Education in France. In *Women in Higher Education Management*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Guadagno, R. E. & Cialdini, R. B. (2007). Gender Differences in Impression Management in Organizations: A Qualitative Review. In *Sex Roles*, 56 (7/8): 483-494.
- Haas, L. (1999). Families and Work. In Sussman, M. B., Steinmetz, S. K., & Peterson, G. W. (Eds.), *Handbook of Marriage and the Family* (2nd ed.). New York: Plenum Press.
- Hammoud, R. S. (1993). The Role of Women in Higher Education Management in the Arab Region. In Commonwealth Secretariat & UNESCO (Eds.), *Women in Higher Education Management*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Hansen, G. L. (1991). Balancing Work and Family: A Literature and Resource Review. In *Family Relations*, 40 (3): 348-353.
- Henley, N. M. (1995). Ethnicity and Gender Issues in Language. In Landrine, N. M. (Ed.), *Bringing Cultural Diversity to Feminist Psychology: Theory, Research, and Practice*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Hensel, N. (1990). Maternity, Promotion, and Tenure: Are They Compatible? In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1975). Inside the Clockwork of Male Careers. In Howe, F. (Ed.), *Women and the Power to Change*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations* (2nd ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. & Hofstede, G. J. (2005). *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hoyle, J. R. (2006a). Leadership Styles. In English, F. W. (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Educational Leadership and Administration*, vol. 2. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hoyle, J. R. (2006b). Leadership Effectiveness. In English, F. W. (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Educational Leadership and Administration*, vol. 2. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Itzhaky, H. & York, A. S. (2000). Empowerment and Community Participation: Does Gender Make a Difference? In *Social Work Research*, 24 (4): 225-234.
- Izraeli, D. N. & Adler, N. J. (1994). Competitive Fronteris: Women Managers in a Global Economy. In Adler, N. J. & Izraeli, D. N. (Eds.), *Competitive Frontiers: Women Managers in a Global Economy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.
- Jacobs, J. A. (1996). Gender Inequality and Higher Education. In *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22: 153-185.
- Jenifer, F. G. (2005). *Minorities and Women in Higher Education and the Role of Mentoring in Their Advancement*. Working paper.

-
- Kelley, H. H., Cunningham, J. D., Grisham, J. A., Lefebvre, L. M., Sink, C. R., & Yablon, G. (1978). Sex Differences in Comments Made During Conflict Within Close Heterosexual Pairs. In *Sex Roles*, 4 (4): 473-492.
- Kivinen, O., Hedman, J., & Kaipainen, P. (2007). From Elite University to Mass Higher Education: Educational Expansion, Equality of Opportunity and Returns to University Education. In *Acta Sociologica*, 50 (3): 231-248.
- Landino, R. & Lynne, W. B. (1990). Supporting Women in the University Environment Through Collaboration and Networking. In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.
- Lawrence, B. S. (1996). Organizational Age Norms: Why Is It So Hard to Know When You See One? In *Gerontologist*, 36 (2): 209-220.
- Ledwith, S. & Manfredi, S. (2000). Balancing Gender in Higher Education: A Study of the Experience of Senior Women in a 'New' UK University. In *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 7 (1): 7-33.
- Lowe, K. B., Kroeck, K. G. & Sivasubramaniam, N. (1996). Effectiveness Correlates of Transformational and Transactional Leadership: A Meta-Analytic Review of the MLQ Literature. In *The Leadership Quarterly*, 7 (3): 385-425,
- Luba, C. (1997). *Higher Education Leadership: Analyzing the Gender Gap*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, Vol.25, No. 4. Washington, D. C.: The George Washington University, Graduate School of Education and Human Development.
- Maguire, M. (1993). Women Who Teach Teachers. In *Gender and Education*, 5 (3): 269-281.
- Maitland, C. (1990). The Inequitable Treatment of Women Faculty in Higher Education. In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.
- Mandell, B. & Pherwani, S. (2003). Relationship Between Emotional Intelligence and Transformational Leadership Style: A Gender Comparison. In *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 17 (3): 387-404.
- McGivney, V. (1993). *Women, Education and Training: Barriers to Access, Informal Starting Points and Progression Routes*. Leicester: NIACE.
- McLean, J. (1996). Hearing from the Forgotten Workforce: The Problems Faced by General Staff Women Working in Universities. In *Australian Universities' Review*, 39 (2): 20-27.
- Messmer, P. R. (1990). Factors Affecting the Granting of Tenure in Schools of Nursing. In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.
- Miller, H. (1995). *The Management of Change in Universities: Universities, State and Economy in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom*. Buckingham: SRHE & Open University Press.

- Mills, A. J. & Tancred, P. (1992). *Gendering Organizational Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Min, W. (1994). People's Republic of China: Autonomy and Accountability: An Analysis of the Changing Relationships Between the Government and Universities. In Neave, G. & Van Vught, F. A. (Eds.), *Government and Higher Education Relationships across Three Continents: The Winds of Change*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Miron, L. F. & Wimpelberg, R. K. (2006). Educational Equity. In English, F. W. (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Educational Leadership and Administration*, vol. 1. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- MoE (1994). *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 1994*.
- MoE (1997). *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 1997*.
- MoE (1997). *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 2001*.
- MoE (2002). *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 2002*.
- MoE (2005). *Educational Statistics Yearbook of China, 2005*.
- Mulac, A. & Bradac, J. J. (1995). Women's Style in Problem Solving Interactions: Powerless, or Simply Feminine? In Kalbfleisch, P. J. & Cody, M. J. (Eds.), *Gender, Power, and Communication in Human Relationships*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Mullen, C. (2006). Mentoring. In English, F. W. (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Educational Leadership and Administration*, vol. 2. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Nagel, T. (1988). A Defense of Affirmative Action. In Beauchamp, T. L. & Bowie, N. E. (Eds.), *Ethical Theory and Business*, 3rd edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- NBSC (2003). *China Labor Statistical Yearbook, 2003*.
- NBSC (2004a). *Women and Men in China: Facts and Figures*.
- NBSC (2004b). *China Labor Statistics Yearbook, 2004*.
- NBSC (2005). *China Labor Statistics Yearbook, 2005*.
- NBSC (2007). *China Social Statistics Yearbook, 2007*.
- NCES (2005b). *Staff in Postsecondary Institutions, Fall 2003, and Salaries of Full-Time Instructional Faculty, 2003-04*.
- NCES (2006). Table 268: Doctor's Degrees Conferred by Degree-Granting Institutions, by Sex, Racial/Ethnic Group, and Major Field of Study: 2003-04. In *Digest of Education Statistics: 2005*.
- Neugarten, B. L., Morre, J. W., & Lowe, J. C. (1965). Age Norms, Age Constraints, and Adult Socialization. In *The American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (6): 710-717.

-
- NPC (1998). *Higher Education of the People's Republic of China*.
- Oakley, A. (1985). *The Sociology of Housework*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Olarte, S. W. (2000). The Female Professional: Parenting, Career, Choices and Compromises. In *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 60 (3): 293-306.
- Ozkanli, O. & White, K. (2008). Leadership and Strategic Choices: Female Professors in Australia and Turkey. In *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 30 (1): 53-63.
- Patton, K. L. (1990). Women Managers in Higher Education. In Welch, A. (Ed.), *The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession*, 179-192. Netherlands: Springer.
- Powney, J. (1997). On Becoming and Being A Manager in Education. In Eggins, H. (Ed.), *Women as Leaders and Managers in Higher Education*. Buckingham: SRHE and Open University Press.
- Pretorius, S. G. & Xue, Y. Q. (2003). The Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education: A Chinese Perspective. In *Prospects*, 33 (1): 89-101.
- Priola, V. (2007). Being Female Doing Gender. Narratives of Women in Education Management. In *Gender and Education*, 19 (1): 21-40.
- Pritchard, R. (2007). Gender Inequality in British and German Universities. In *Compare*, 37 (5): 651-669.
- Radecki, C. M. & Jaccard, J. (1996). Gender-Role Differences in Decision-Making Orientations and Decision-Making Skills. In *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 26 (1): 76-94.
- Reyes, A. (2006). Career Stages. In English, F. W. (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Educational Leadership and Administration, vol. 1*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Schmidt, E. K. (2006). Higher Education in Scandinavia. In Forest, J. & Altbach, P. (Eds.), *International Handbook of Higher Education, Part Two*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Schnittger, M. H. & Bird, G. W. (1990). Coping among Dual-Career Men and Women across the Family Life Cycle. In *Family Relations*, 39 (2): 199-205.
- Scott, J. R. (1993). *Female and Male Faculty: Expectations and Interpretations of Presidential Leadership in a Research University*. (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Atlanta, GA, April, 1993)).
- Seddoh, K. F. (2002). Foreword. In *Women and Management in Higher Education: A Good Practice Handbook*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Seeborg, I. S. (1990). Division of Labor in Two-Career Faculty Households. In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.

- Simon, R. L. (1993). Affirmative Action and the University: Faculty Appointment and Preferential Treatment. In Cahn, S. M. (Ed.), *Affirmative Action and the University: A Philosophical Inquiry*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Sorenson, P. S., Hawkins, K., & Sorenson, R. L. (1995). Gender, Psychological Type and Conflict Style Preference. In *Management Communication Quarterly*, 9 (1): 115-126.
- Starobin, S. S. & Laanan, F. S. (2008). Broadening Female Participation in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics: Experiences at Community Colleges. In *New Directions for Community College*, 2008 (142): 37-46.
- Statistics Norway (2007a). *Facts about Education in Norway 2008 – Key Figures 2006*.
- Stivers, C. (2003). Administration Versus Management: A Reading from Beyond the Boundaries. In *Administration and Society*, 35 (2): 210-230.
- Thompson, B. (2007). Working Beyond the Glass Ceiling: Women Managers in Initial Teacher Training in England. In *Gender and Education*, 19 (3): 339-352.
- Tjeldvoll, A., Wales, C., & Welle-Strand, A. (2005). School Leadership Training under Globalization: Comparisons of the UK, the US and Norway. In *Managing Global Transitions*, 3 (1): 23-49.
- Trow, M. (1974). Problems in the Transition from Elite to Mass Education. In *Policies for Higher Education*, OECD (Ed.). Paris: OECD.
- UNESCO (1993). *Women in Higher Education Management*.
- UNESCO (1998). *Women and Higher Education: Issues and Perspectives*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2002). *Women and Management in Higher Education: A Good Practice Handbook*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO & BJU (2007). *Project Report – Status of Engineering, Science and Technology Education in China: the Need and Demand among Young Students*.
- Van Engen, M. L., Van der Leeden, R., & Willemsen, T. M. (2001). Gender, Context, and Leadership Styles: A Field Study. In *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 74 (5): 581-598.
- Walder, A. G., Li, B., & Treiman, D. J. (2000). Politics and Life Changes in a State Socialist Regime: Dual Career Paths into the Urban Chinese Elite, 1949 to 1996. In *American Sociological Review*, 65 (2): 191-209.
- Walker, A. J. (1999). Gender and Family Relationships. In Sussman, M. B., Steinmetz, S. K., & Peterson, G. W. (Eds.), *Handbook of Marriage and the Family* (2nd ed.). New York: Plenum Press.
- Walker, A. A. & Kuk, L. (1990). Aspirations, Choices, Realities: College Women Ten Years Later. In Lynne, W. B. (Ed.), *Women in Higher Education: Changes and Challenges*. New York: Praeger.

- Wasser, H. (2007a). European and American University Leaders: A Comparative Perspective. In Wasser, H. & Fortier, S. (Eds.), *Higher Education in Europe and the United States of America: A Diverse Collection of Essays*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Wasser, H. (2007b). Scandinavian Universities. In Wasser, H. & Fortier, S. (Eds.), *Higher Education in Europe and the United States of America: A Diverse Collection of Essays*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Wentling, R. M. & Camacho, C. (2008). Women Engineers: Factors and Obstacles Related to the Pursuit of A Degree in Engineering. In *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering*, 14 (1): 83-118.
- Xu, Y. J. (2008). Gender Disparity in STEM Disciplines: A Study of Faculty Attrition and Turnover Intentions. In *Research in Higher Education*, 49 (7): 607-624.
- Yang, R. (2005). The Chinese Professoriate in Comparative Perspective: Self-perceptions, Academic Life, Gender Differences and Internal Differentiation. In Welch, A. (Ed.), *The Professoriate: Profile of a Profession*, 179-192. Netherlands: Springer.
- Young, P. (2004). Leadership and Gender in Higher Education: A Case Study. In *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 28 (1): 95-106.
- Zhang, C., Huan, Z., & Li, H. (2007). An Empirical Study on Education Equity in China, 1978-2004. In *Frontiers of Education in China*, 2 (4): 536-544.
- Zhang, J. (1997). 我国女性接受高等教育现状之研究(Researches on the Current Situation of Chinese Women Receiving Higher Education). In *Higher Education Exploration*, 2: 43-48.
- Zhao, Y. (2007). An Analysis on the Status of Female Faculty in Chinese Higher Education. In *Frontiers of Education in China*, 2 (3): 415-429.
- Zhou, J. (2006). *Higher Education in China*. Singapore: Thomson Learning.

Internet Resources:

- ACE (2007). *American College President*. Last updated on March 28, 2007. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.acenet.edu/Content/NavigationMenu/ProgramsServices/CPA/Executive_Summary.htm.
- CERNET (2000a). *Project 211: A Brief Introduction*. Last updated on January 1, 2001. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.edu.cn/211_1415/20060323/t20060323_3971.shtml.
- CERNET (2000b). Education Management and Administration System in China. Last updated on November 25, 2004. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.edu.cn/introduction1_1403/20060323/t20060323_110717.shtml.

- Fullinwider, R. (2005). Affirmative Action. In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Last updated on March 4, 2005. Last retrieved access on May 27, 2008.
URL: <http://www.science.uva.nl/~seop/entries/affirmative-action/>.
- Hofstede, G. (2003). *Geert Hofstede Cultural Dimensions*. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008. URL: http://www.geert-hofstede.com/hofstede_dimensions.php.
- MoE (2007). *Total Number of Postgraduate Students by Academic Field*. Last updated on October 9, 2007. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: <http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/26/info33526.htm>.
- MoE (2008a). “985” 工程建设 (*Construction of Project 985*). Last updated on October, 9, 2008. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: <http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/level3.jsp?tablename=1223529877303137&infoid=1223534999341199>.
- MoE (2008b). 教育部召开2008年全国高等教育招生计划工作会议 (Conference on the Planning of Enrollment to Regular Higher Educational Institutions in 2008). Last updated on January 15, 2008. Last retrieved access on October 9, 2008.
URL: <http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/level3.jsp?tablename=2398&infoid=1212629048995669>.
- MoE (2008c). 2007年来华留学生人数突破19万 2008年中国政府奖学金将大幅度增加 (*More than 190,000 Foreign Students Came to China in 2007, And the Governmental Scholarship Will Increase Dramatically in 2008*). Last updated on March, 17, 2008. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: <http://www.moe.edu.cn/edoas/website18/level3.jsp?tablename=2398&infoid=1212635506247739>.
- NBSC (2001). 第二期中国妇女社会地位抽样调查主要数据报告 (*Report on the Second National Census of the Social Status of Chinese Women*). Last updated on September 4, 2001. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjgb/qttjgb/qgqttjgb/t20020331_15816.htm.
- NCES (2005a). Enrollment, Staff, and Degrees Conferred in Postsecondary Institutions Participating in Title IV Programs, by Level and Control of Institution, Sex, and Type of Degree: Fall 2003 and 2003-04. Table prepared on July, 2005. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d05/tables/dt05_168.asp.
- Oxford English Dictionary (online) (1989). Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50115874?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=inequity&first=1&max_to_show=10.
- RUC (2007). 国内高校校长基本特征网上资料调查报告: “品味” 中国高校的领军人物 (*The Report of Web Information on Basic Characteristics of Chinese University Presidents – Experiencing Leaders of Chinese University*). Last updated on August 20, 2007. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: <http://newsl.ruc.edu.cn/102382/48585.html>.

- Statistics Norway (2004a). *Table 3: Teachers, by Full-Time, Part-Time and Type of School*. Last updated on October 1, 2003. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.ssb.no/english/subject/04/02/utlaerer_en/tab-2004-09-20-03-en.html.
- Statistics Norway (2004b). *Educational Statistics: Teaching Staff*. Last updated on September 20, 2004. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.ssb.no/english/subjects/04/02/utlaerer_en.
- Statistics Norway (2007b). *Degrees from Universities and Colleges*. Last updated on June 1, 2007. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.ssb.no/english/subjects/04/02/40/eksuvh_en/.
- Statistics Norway (2007c). *Table 2: Graduates, by Field of Education and Gender*. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.ssb.no/english/subjects/04/02/40/eksuvh_en/tab-2007-06-01-02-en.html.
- Statistics Norway (2007d). *Table 4: Graduates of Doctoral Degrees, by Field of Education and Gender*. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://www.ssb.no/english/subjects/04/02/40/eksuvh_en/tab-2007-06-01-04-en.html.
- UIS (2008). *UIS Statistics in Brief: Education in China*. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008.
URL: http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=121&IF_Language=eng&BR_Country=1560&BR_Region=40515.
- UNESCO (2005). *Education – Higher Education*. Last retrieved access on October 11, 2008.
URL: http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=44351&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
- UC Regents (2007). *Chapter 2: Equal Employment Opportunity/Affirmative Action*. In *Guide to Managing Human Resources*. Last updated on June 6, 2008. Last retrieved access on October 18, 2008.
URL: <http://hrweb.berkeley.edu/GUIDE/affirmative.htm>.
- World Bank (2008). *World Development Indicator Database: China*. Last retrieved access on October 21, 2008. URL: http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/ext/ddpreports/ViewSharedReport?&CF=&REPORT_ID=9147&REQUEST_TYPE=VIEWADVANCED&HF=N/CPProfile.asp&WSP=N.